

THESIS FOR PH.D.

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THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS (ENGLISH  
AND LATIN) OF THE SERVICE BOOK USED BY  
THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION OF MARIAN EX-  
ILES IN GENEVA, 1556-1559; arranged in  
parallel columns, and edited with intro-  
duction and notes showing the origins  
and usages of the rite.

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**PREFACE**

## P R E F A C E

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The purpose of this thesis is mainly liturgical. It seeks to explore exhaustively the sources and usages of the Service Book used by the Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva from 1556-60. It was in this Congregation that Puritanism first flowered, and this Service Book is accordingly of importance as being the foundation of the worship of the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians. John Knox was the leading Minister of the Congregation, and for that reason the Book is commonly known as 'John Knox's Liturgy'. This first edition represents it in its simplest form; later, when adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, it was slightly revised and gradually enlarged as edition succeeded edition. The second edition (Latin), which is here printed in parallel columns with the first, makes little contribution to our knowledge of the rite, but it is of antiquarian interest and has never before been edited and reprinted. Also certain misunderstandings have prevailed concerning it, and opportunity has been taken here to correct these.

The method followed has been, first to relate the circumstances which produced the Book. This has been done in the chapters dealing with the history of the MSS.; and while there is room for little research in regard to the Troubles in Franfort (out of which the Book was born), the original documents have been re-examined and in the footnotes indication has been made of the agreement or disagreement of the main secondary authorities with the statements made. Also, this chapter has been done in some detail, not with a view to uncovering new facts, but rather to demonstrate the views and temper of those who compiled the Forme of Prayer.

Next, short introductory chapters have been written to each section; then the section has been printed with exhaustive commentary footnotes dealing with the sources (which in most cases have been reprinted in full in order that comparison may be made at a glance), and the usages. With regard to the former, they have been traced back in most instances to the German Reformed Church at Strasburg; while the latter have been carefully elucidated by comparison with contemporary and kindred rites. The history of the Sunday Morning Service and the Lord's Supper has proven to be the most complicated; therefore, considerable space has been devoted to these sections in order that the view held may be clearly set forth and its significance made plain. It will be observed also that detailed comparison has been made in many cases with later Puritan and Scottish practice, but the intention has not been to explore either save in so far as they throw light upon the Forme of Prayer. This thesis is concerned only with the Forme of Prayer: its sources, as far as they can be traced; its usages as far as they can be determined; and in a measure its influence upon later rites, and also its place in the Catholic order.

Further, the non-liturgical sections of the book have not been so exhaustively dealt with: they belong to the realm of polity and doctrine rather than to that of liturgiology. Here therefore only the sources have been noted, and the current usage shown.

Both the texts edited and the various sources quoted (notably the hitherto unpublished ones, e.g., Huycke, 1550, Pullain, 1551, &c.) have been as far as possible printed verbatim, litteratim, and punctatim, as it was felt that only by so doing could an adequate idea of the documents themselves be conveyed and the relationships with other rites be clearly established. For the German texts (except in the case of one or two editions in the B.M.) reliance has been made upon Hubert's editions; this has been necessary owing to inability to visit the Continental libraries where the originals are housed. Calvin's books for the same reason are from the Copy.

If documents are quoted from time to time which have been quoted before by others, this has been because they could not be ignored, and unless it is otherwise indicated they have been verified by consultation of the originals. The point of view of the thesis, however, is fresh; and an origin and significance of the rite in the Forme of Prayers not previously held has been indicated, and a large body of new facts has been brought to light; while the exact sources are here quoted in detail for the first time.

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*The main standard works on the history of the Church (general) have also been consulted, but it is not thought to be necessary to include them here.*

N.R.

Much of this Bibliography is not mentioned directly in the thesis which is confined to a narrower field, but it has provided the necessary background, and indicates the sphere of research.

*Compare also the Genealogical Bibliography, pp. 31 to 39, none of which have been included in the above. This bibliography is compiled from Habert, Baum's introduction to Calvin's liturgies in the Opera, and from personal research. All the books (originally in the B.M. or the University Library at Ab. Lib. Edinburgh) have been consulted. It indicates for the first time the line of connection between the old Scottish liturgies and the Form of Prayers here edited.*

### Abbreviations

- BCP - Book of Common Prayer (If name attached, refers to editor.)  
FP - The Forme of Prayers &c. 1556 (here edited).  
BCW - Book of Common Worship  
BCO - Book of Common Order. (Name if attached = editor)  
Lit. sac. - Pullain's Liturgia sacra &c.  
La Forme - Calvin's La Forme et maniere &c.  
 =====  
Br. Discourse - Cf. Bibliog. above "Troubles begun &c."  
Psalter, 1539 - Cf. # 18 Genealogical Bibliography.  
 Any other abbreviations will at once be apparent if author's name is consulted in the Bibliography.

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## DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

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## DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

### I. THE FORME OF PRAYERS &c., 1556.

The text here reprinted is from the copy housed in the National Library, Edinburgh. The only other known copy of this first edition is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The copy in the National Library is a leather bound, gilt-edged volume, size three and a quarter inches wide, five and a quarter inches long, and three-quarters of an inch thick.

It is bound up with fifty-one Psalms in metre, Calvin's Catechism, and certain private prayers. The whole volume consists of four hundred and twenty-one pages:—ninety-four pages in prayers and forms of worship;<sup>1.</sup> one hundred and sixty pages of metrical Psalms with the melody line of the tunes; while the Catechism occupies one hundred and sixty-seven pages. Only the prayers and forms of worship are reprinted and dealt with in this thesis.

This manuscript has been before reprinted in Laing's The Works of John Knox, vol. iv., pages 149-214, but the notes are so meagre as to be of little value. The Works of John Knox edited by Laing are long out of print.

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1. Pages 24 to 82 are missing due to an error in paging. Nothing is lacking in the manuscript. The hiatus occurs between the Preface and the Confession of Faith. A possible explanation is that the main body of the book was sent to the printer before the Preface Letter was written, thirty-two pages being allowed for it, and only twenty-four being ultimately required.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

### II. RATIO ET FORMA &c., 1556.

The Latin text which is here reprinted is housed in the British Museum, London, and is bound with Pullain's Lit.sac., 1551,<sup>1.</sup> and a Latin translation of Calvin's forms of administration of the sacraments.<sup>2.</sup> In the Museum are two other copies, one of which stands alone, while the other is bound with the Heidelberg Catechism<sup>3.</sup> and certain of Calvin's public and private prayers.<sup>4.</sup> Other copies which I have not seen are to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the town Library at Zurich, and one is also in the private possession of Prof. William Cowan. They are all identical, and there appears to have been only one Latin edition.

The book comprises eighty pages of moderately close type; the size of the pages is 4" x 6".

The Latin edition has never been reprinted, as far as one is able to discover.

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1. Cf. Genealogical Bibliography, # 24. -P

2. FORMULA SACRAMENTORVM ADMINISTRATIONVM, IN VSVM ECCLESIAE GENEVENSI CONSCRIPTA, Dudum a Ioanne Caluino Gallico conscripta, nunc in Latinam conuersa ab alio quodam. Geneuae, Ex officina Ionnis Crispini. M.D.LII. Cf. Genealog. Bibliog., # 22, M<sup>2</sup>.

3. CATECHESIS RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRADITVR IN ECCLESIIS ET SCHOLIS PALATINIS. Heydelbergae. Excudebant Michael Schirat, et Ioannes Mayer, Anno, M.D.LXIII.

4. PRECATIONES ALIQUOT PRIVATAE ET PVBLICAE. Heydelbergae Excudebant Michael Schirat, et Ioannes Mayer. Anno M.D.LXIII. Cf. Genealog. Bibliog. ibid. as note 2 above.

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Both manuscripts are printed as they stand in the originals with all abbreviations and misprints. Where necessary the abbreviations are expanded, and the misprints are corrected, in the footnotes. The marginal Scriptural references, however, which seem in both manuscripts, have not been reproduced except where they are of value to the study of the texts.

The manuscripts are printed in this thesis in parallel columns for the purpose of easy comparison. In all cases the English and Latin are not exactly equivalent, as the Latin is a translation<sup>1.</sup> of the English, and in some instances the thought is expanded in order more clearly to convey the meaning. Occasionally the Latin is a free paraphrase of the English. But as far as possible the corresponding sections have been kept parallel with each other.

The order of the English original, and not that of the Latin, is followed. The order of each separate service is always the same in both English and Latin, but the order of the contents is different in the Latin. The differences do not all appear in <sup>the</sup> orders of contents, but in a footnote thereto they are clearly shown.

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1. That the Latin is a translation of the English is shown in the chapter dealing with the history of the Latin manuscript. pp. 29-31.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT



7.

## THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

Although bearing the title, 'The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacramentes, &c., vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua', and commonly known as the 'Book of Geneva', this earliest<sup>1.</sup> English 'Puritan'<sup>2.</sup> book of prayers came into being as a result of certain controversies waged in Frankfort-on-the-Main during the years 1554-1555 in the congregation of English exiles gathered there, certain of whom went to Geneva later to found the English congregation at Geneva in November of the year 1555,<sup>3.</sup> where the book was first used. Therefore, to understand the book itself, it is necessary to understand the circumstances surrounding its compilation.<sup>4.</sup>

Edward VI died on the sixth day of July, 1553, and during the months that followed confusion reigned. Finally, at the accession of Mary in October, the Protestant cause was definitely lost. Many confessing the new faith

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1. Except forms compiled and used by individual Ministers, such as Knox's use for the Lord's Supper at Berwick-on-the-Tweed, of which a fragment still remains. (Reprinted in LORIMER: John Knox and the Church of England, pp. 290 sq.)
2. The word was not yet coined, but it best denotes the type of liturgy represented by the FP 1556.
3. "The Church was erected the first of November (1555)". (Livre des Anglois, p. 49. which is reprinted, in MARTIN: Les Protestants Anglais, pp. 331sq) *in part*
4. Our knowledge of these circumstances is mainly derived from 'A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abovte the Booke off common prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre to thende off 2. "aries Raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn, and what was the cause off the same. Maro. 4.' (Copy in B.M. and B.L., and edited and reprinted by Arber in 1908, and by another in 1846), and from Knox's narrative of the Troubles contained in his Works (LAING: KW iv. 41 sq.). Short accounts of these troubles will be found in SPROTT: BCP pp. 205-229; LORIMER: op. cit. pp. 201-212; HUME BROWN: Knox, 17.; M'CRICK: PW pp. 78-87, and in other biographies of Knox. QUENT: pp. 21-22 WOTHERSPOON.

*Also of 1555-57. Concerning the French Huguenots.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

were forced to flee with all haste to the Continent, not only in order to secure the liberty of worshipping God according to their own conscience, but to escape imprisonment and even the stake at home. It is estimated that in this early period a number between eight hundred and a thousand<sup>1.</sup> of these exiles crossed the Channel and sought homes in Flanders, Upper Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere.<sup>2.</sup> Unhappily, they were obliged to throw themselves upon the charity of the European Protestant Churches at an awkward moment, for in 1552 the Eucharistical controversy had been re-opened between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and Continental Protestantism was split into two violently opposing camps each holding strong and extreme views. As Professor Hume Brown relates,<sup>3.</sup> "To have sound views as to the Real Presence was the indispensable passport for admission to every Protestant country. But the majority of the English refugees could give satisfaction neither to Luther or Calvin on this all-important subject; and the story of their adventures in search of a resting-place among their fellow-

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1. Hume Brown says 800, Burnett 1000, Morrice MS over 1000. Cf. HUME BROWN: Knox i. 168.
2. Principally in Strasburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Embden, Wesel, and Zurich; and later, Geneva.
3. H. BROWN: Knox i. 168.



D.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

Christians is one of those pitiful chapters in Church History which place in their most trying light the less noble tendencies of the religious spirit." In this enquiry we are concerned with a part of the history of the English refugees who found sanctuary in the rich and hospitable city of Frankfort-on-the-Main.<sup>1.</sup>

About two months before the coming of the English company to Frankfort, Valérand Pullain<sup>2.</sup> with his little company of Walloon weavers had arrived there. Through the good offices of Councillor Johann von Glauberg, a man of Calvinistic sympathies, the Town Council had permitted Pullain and his weavers to settle in the city, granting them liberty for "their whole ecclesiastical ministry both of the Word and Sacraments",<sup>3.</sup> and assigned for their use the Church of the White Ladies.<sup>4.</sup> He preached his first sermon there on 19 April 1554.<sup>5.</sup>

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1. Since 1152 the place of election of the Emperors. As early as 1580, Frankfort had cordially embraced the Lutheran Reformation. Calvin had later made his influence felt there also. In the trying days of 1554 some of her Councillors still favoured the Reformed or Calvinistic (to use a word not coined till 1579 - OED) doctrines, in spite of the eloquent and fruitful preaching of the Lutheran preacher, Hartmann Beyerin, in 1552. Accordingly in 1554, contrary to the practice of many other towns, Frankfort was tolerant towards all Protestants.
2. A nobleman of Lille, who had embraced the cause of the Reformation. He was a learned theologian and a devoted pastor. He succeeded *Calvin (after others)* as Minister of the congregation of French exiles at Strasburg, but ~~was~~ *owing to the 'Augsburg Interim', 1548, he was forced to flee* to England, where in 1550 he and his congregation of weavers were settled in the dissolved Abbey of Glastonbury by indenture of the Duke of Somerset. Upon the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne, they were driven out of England. Embarking for ~~Emden~~ in January of 1554, after being refused hospitality there, they passed on to Cologne, where a similar fate met them. But in ~~April~~ they were received cordially at Frankfort. (Cf. GORDON, *Thesis*, pp. i-v.) Of his liturgical influence upon the ~~FP1556~~ more will be said later, ~~and in the Bibliography mention is made of the various editions of his Liturgia sacra.~~ *pp. 36-37. in the Liturgical Bibliography.*
3. Parker Society, *Letters*, Let. 11. pp. 110-111.
4. This church still exists. It was restored in 1471. The nave has six bays, and on the North side are two side chapels. H. BROWN: *Knox* i. 164.
5. Parker Society, *Letters*, *ibid.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

Little more than two months had elapsed before the company of English refugees arrived on 27 June 1554.<sup>1.</sup> They numbered in all about 200<sup>2.</sup>, and were under the care and direction of Edmond Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood.<sup>3.</sup> On the night of their arrival they were visited by Pullain, who cordially welcomed them, told them of the kindness he had received from the Frankfort authorities, and invited them to join his congregation. They in turn thanked him for his kindness and congratulated him on his success, but since so few of them understood French, they were forced to refuse his invitation.<sup>4.</sup>

On Pullain's advice, however, they petitioned the Council that they might be allowed to remain in the city, which petition was speedily granted. Two Elders of Pullain's Church now further advised them to request von Glauberg to obtain for them if possible a place from the Council where they might be permitted to worship according to their own conscience and in their own tongue. On the 8th of July following, they did so; and on "the 14. day off the same monethe yt was graunted that they shulde haue libertie to preache and minister the Sacraments, in the churche which the frêche

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1. Brief Discourse, p. v. (ed. 1846)

2. MARTIN: Les Prots. Ang., p. 24.

3. Brief Discourse, p. v. (ed. 1846). Of these Sutton was a "Prayer Book man", and the others were extreme Calvinists or Puritans, as they came later to be called. They were all prominent in the Church of Engd.

4. Brief Discourse, p. v. (ed. 1846). The matter from the paragraph following is from the same page. For a discussion of the authenticity and accuracy of the Brief Discourse, see H. BROWN: Knox, i. 167, who states that "there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the narrative". Most scholars agree that the author is William Whittingham.



## THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

men had, the frēche one daie and the Englishe an other daie<sup>1</sup> and  
 vpō the Sundaie, to chuse also the houres as they could agree  
 amonge them selues,<sup>2</sup> but it was with this commandement, that the  
 Englishe shulde not discent from the french men in doctrine, or  
 ceremonies,<sup>3</sup> leaste they shulde thereby minister occasion off  
 offence, and willed farther, that before they entred their  
 church, they shulde approue and subscribe the same confession  
 of faithe,<sup>4</sup> that the frenche men had then presented." <sup>5.</sup> This  
 the English agreed to do.

The Brief Discourse continuing the narrative  
 of the ev<sup>e</sup>nts that followed shows clearly that it  
 was understood from the beginning that this  
 decision involved the discarding of the Book  
 of Common Prayer in favour of the Calvinistic  
 forms of government, dicipline, and worship.  
 That is at once evident, for the first matter  
 to which they gave their attention was the

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1. Pullain's Lit.sac., 1554 (Frankfort), shows that his week-day services took place at daybreak on Tuesdays and Thursdays. They were of an hour's duration. (Cf. the 'Admonitio' at the conclusion of the Lit.sac.)
2. The same source shows his Sunday services to have been at the following times: (1) at 8 a.m., lasting from 2 to 3 hours; (2) 1 p.m., catechising of children for one hour; (3) at 2 p.m., the evening service an hour in length. There is nothing to show the hours of the English services, but there does not appear to have been any friction over the times.
3. The French services were distinctly Calvinistic, since Pullain was one of Calvin's successors at Strasburg, and his Lit.sac. differed only slightly from Calvin's use. *cf. the order of service on p. 96 of this thesis*
4. That is Pullain's 'Professio fidei' in the Lit.sac. "The Liturgy and Confession had been approved by the Council and subscribed by Pullain, as Minister of the French Church, and four of his Elders, in the name of their church. It was now subscribed by John McBrair or McBræ, the Galloway ex-priest, as Minister of the English Church, and by four Elders, the last to sign being Whittingham: these signed in the name of their whole church." GORDON: Thesis, p. iv. It is curious that we hear no more of McBrair.
5. A passage from J. HILDEBRAND WITTHOF's Vertheidigung (cf. MITCHELL: Ref. in Scot. p. 294, H. BROWN: Knox ii. 299, translated by GORDON: Thesis, p. vii.) gives from another source the exact terms upon which the Council granted the Church of the White Ladies to the English exiles. Its terms exactly agree with those quoted above from the Brief Discourse.  
 A year later (June 1555), John a Lasco and his congregation were also permitted the use of this church, sharing it with the English and French, on the same terms, and on condition that they would not dissent from the Augustan Confession.



THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

preparation of a suitable form of service. For  
although the Brief Discourse tells us that "the  
englishe order was perused", and that "by generall consente  
it was concluded that the answeringe alowde after the Minister  
shulde not be vsed, the letanye, surplice, and many other thinges  
also omitted, for that in those reformed churches, suche thinges  
woulde seeme more then strange", the final result of their  
present deliberations<sup>1.</sup> was entirely unlike Morn-  
ing Prayer in the BCP, and followed along distinct-  
ly Calvinistic lines. The following would appear  
to be the service suggested.

- (Scripture sentence and Exhortation)
- Confession of sins (but not that in the BCP)
- Psalm "inmeetre in a plaine tune".
- Prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit
- (Scripture)
- Sermon
- A General Prayer "for all estates and for oure  
countrie of Englande was also deuised, at  
thende off whiche praier, was ioined the  
lords praier."
- The Apostles' Creed
- Psalm "as before".
- The Blessing: "The peace off god, &c. or some  
other off like effect", after which the  
people departed.,

The only item in the whole service which ~~was~~ can  
definitely <sup>be said to have</sup> come from the BCP is the Blessing.  
The Blessing, "The peace of God, &c.", was not used by  
the Calvinists in their services. It is interesting,  
also, to observe that this Flessing is not taken  
from Mattins<sup>2.</sup>, but from the Communion. Ey this  
it would appear that these exiles at ~~Strasbourg~~ Frankfort.  
recognized the fundamental difference between the

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1. Brief Discourse, p. vii. (ed. 1846)  
2. ~~At~~ Mattins (BCP) there is no blessing, but only the Grace.

## THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

Calvinistic<sup>Sunday</sup> Morning worship and Mattins, namely, that Mattins is derived from the "Hours" services, while Calvin's<sup>Sunday</sup> morning service comes from the Eucharist (Ante-Communion). Whether this ~~was~~ so or not,<sup>3</sup> it is at least clear that it was a thorough-going Calvinistic service which was thus first adopted, and that it had little kinship with the worship in the BCP. The same also would appear to have been true of the Sacraments; for though we are told only that "sundrie things were also by common consente omitted, as superstitious and superfluous", with Whittingham as narrator that may cover a great deal, and there can be little doubt that a very drastic and sweeping revision took place here also. However, having so agreed among themselves, they chose a Minister and Deacons to serve for a time, and entered their church on the 29th day of the same month (July 1554).<sup>1</sup>

It is the of the utmost importance that it be realized that what follows is no mere congregational quarrel occasioned by the petulant tempers of certain members. What is really happening is a pitched battle between the Puritans and the Anglicans,<sup>2</sup> as they came later to be designated in the Church of England. Both sides ~~are~~ were fully aware that what is effected here will have a profound and far-reaching influence upon the new religious settlement in England if

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1. Brief Discourse, p. vii. (ed. 1846)

2. The "Anglicans" were moderates, and do not correspond in any way to the modern "High Church" party. Many of these "Anglicans" on their return to England refused high office because of their Puritan principles.

3. This will be discussed at length in the chapt. on "The Sunday Morning Service".

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matters there took a turn again in the direction of Protestantism. Great issues were therefore involved, and in view of that fact due allowance should be made for the bitterness of the conflict which ensued. There was more involved than the fortunes of this small band of English exiles gathered at Frankfort.<sup>1.</sup>

To resume the narrative: Having now established themselves, they sent out a general letter<sup>2.</sup> on 2nd August to all exiled Englishmen in the various European towns and cities which had given them refuge, inviting these to join with them at Frankfort, and to share with them "this singular benefit" which they had been fortunate enough to obtain, "the like wheroff coulde no where else as yet be obtained". It is to be observed, however, that they were careful to make no reference to the drastic departure they had made from the BCP. The tone of the letter is cordial in the extreme, urgently requesting the presence of the scattered exiles.

The first reply<sup>3.</sup> was from the exiles at Strasburg. In their letter also nothing is said about the real issue, namely, the change in the service in the direction of Calvinistic

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1. Cf. H. BROWN: Knox, i. p. 168.

2. Brief Discourse, p. vii. The text of the letter is given on pp. viii-xiii. It is signed by John Stanton, John Makebray (McBrair), William Williams, William Whittingham, William Hammond, Thomas Wood, Michael Gill.

3. The text of the reply is not given, but a synopsis appears on p. xiii. of the Brief Discourse.



# THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

forms. But they suggested the names of Cox, Seory, and others, as suitable Ministers for the congregation at Frankfort, and from this it would appear that, being aware of the Calvinistic propensities (as they would have called them) of the Frankfort majority, they were subtly guarding their own interests by ensuring that those in charge of the congregation would be of the Anglican party.

Meantime, however, the Frankfort congregation went on to choose its own Ministers; and after certain negotiations, John Knox, of Geneva, was persuaded to accept the call; and Thomas Lever of Zurich later agreed to come temporarily and on trial.<sup>1.</sup>

During this time, various letters seem to have 'crossed' between Zurich and Frankfort, and the exact order of events is difficult to follow.<sup>2.</sup> But the main sequences are apparent.

Two letters<sup>3.</sup> were received from Zurich, and  
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1. James Haddon, of Strasburg, refused the call. John Knox accepted, but only at the urgent persuasion of Calvin: "at the commandment of Mr. Calvin, that notable servant of God, albeit unwillingly, he obeyed the vocation". (LAING: K.W. i. 282). The call was dated 24 September and bore twenty-one signatures. (Brief Discourse, pp. xix-xx.) Knox was an extreme and martial Calvinist. Thomas Lever was the moderating influence. In the troubles which followed he at first threw the weight of his influence on the side of Cox and his party, but later he withdrew it. Finally, after Knox had gathered his party about him at Geneva and the English congregation had been formed, Lever joined them there. (Livre des anglois, p. 2.) Upon his return to England after the accession of Elizabeth, he became a distinguished leader of the Non-conformists.
2. For example, Professor Hume Brown's chronology seems to be wrong. In one case he quotes a letter written from Zurich on 18th October as being answered by one from Frankfort dated 28th September! (H. BROWN: Knox, i. p. 169). The difficulty arises from the fact that the narrator in the Brief Discourse does not set the letters down in their proper chronological order, and also because in all probability others of the letters have not been preserved.
3. The letter dated 13th October bears fourteen signatures, among them those of Horne, Chambers, Lever, and Cole. Brief Discourse, pp. xv-xvi.

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and in both, those in Zurich insist upon the use of the BCP of 1552. I quote, for example, this sentence from the letter of the 13th October: "Yff vppon the receipte here off, ye shall withowte cloke or forged pretence, But onely to seke Christe aduertise vs by your letters, that our beinge there is so needfull as ye haue alreadie signified, and that we may altogether serue and praise god as freely and as vprightly, (wheroff pryuate letters receiued lately from Franckf. make vs muche to dowte) as the order last taken in the church of England permittethe and prescribeth (for we are fully determined to admitt and vse no other) then, abowte easter next..... with one consent we agree to ioine oure selues vnto yow." This letter shows that the exiles at Zurich are determined to join those at Frankfort only on condition that they receive a guarantee that the BCP will be used there;<sup>1.</sup> and they further suggest that the policy adopted by their official Frankfort correspondents in keeping back the full facts is neither laudable or creditable.<sup>2.</sup>

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1. This attachment to the BCP (1552) was perfectly natural on their part, apart altogether from its liturgical moderation. It was because of their devotion to this BCP and to the Reformed cause in England that they were now in exile; and even at this time that Cramner, Ridley, and Latimer, beloved of them all, were lying in prison under sentence of death.—of. Brief Discourse, p. xxii. (They were imprisoned in the Tower in November 1553, condemned for heresy in April 1554, and the first execution, that of Rogers, took place on February 1555.) It is quite probable that most of the exiles would not have had any great objection to further revision along Puritan lines (e.g., of. Brief Discourse, pp. xxi & liv.), but they wished it still to be the BCP, and not a new book similar to Calvin's. It is stated on p. 1. of the Brief Discourse that Cramner himself had actually drafted such a revision, a book "an hundreth tymes more perfect"; this is given on Bullinger's authority by Horne, so although the MS has never been discovered it is nevertheless rash to dismiss it as a "mere Puritan rumour".
2. Prof. Hume Brown has an interesting and altogether probable solution to the problem of why Whittingham and his party persisted in reserving this one important key fact. He suggests that they had such supreme faith in the fact that their form of worship was best, that if the men of Zurich could only be persuaded to come and see, all would be well, their order would at once and gladly be accepted, its superiority being fully demonstrated.



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While the dicussion between Frankfort and Zurich still continued, Whitehead<sup>1.</sup> with a company from Strasburg arrived at Frankfort, and "at the requeste off the congregation, he tooke the charge for a time, and preached vpon the Epistle to the Romains".

A few weeks later, early in November, another letter was received from Zurich which, while still insisting upon the use of the ECP, stated that they were sending Master Richard Chambers<sup>2.</sup> to treat for them in the whole matter, and affirmed their willingness to abide by any decisions arrived at through his offices. The consultation, however, proved fruitless of any agreement<sup>3.</sup>; and when Chambers "sawe that they could not assure him the full vse off the Englishe booke withowte the hazardinge off their church",<sup>4.</sup> he made ready to leave.

About this time, John Knox must have arrived from Geneva,<sup>5.</sup> in acceptance of the call which had

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1. Brief Discourse, p. xvii. The date of his arrival was 24th October. Previous to his exile, he had refused the Archbishopric of Armagh.
2. The letter telling of his arrival is dated 27 October 1554, and is given on pp. xviii-xix of the Brief Discourse. Chambers was a rich layman, a patron of learning, who had financed several exiled scholars when they had been forced to give up their livings. His character is a complete mystery, so anomalous is it. He became finally practically sole deacon at Frankfort while Horne was sole Minister. Cf. H. BROWN: Knox i. 170, footnote; Brief Discourse (Arber's ed. 1908), pp. xviii & xxi.
3. Brief Discourse (ed. 1848), p. xix.
4. If the Frankfort Puritans gavethis as their chief or sole reason for refusing to use the ECP, they were very close to the edge of the truth. (Cf. H. BROWN: Knox i. pp. 187-188). The attitude of the City Council may have been different then than it was later, but there is no evidence to show that such was the case. After Knox was banished, the permission for the use of the ECP was readily granted.
5. Though no date is mentioned, he must have arrived <sup>late</sup> in November. (Brief Discourse, p. xix). We see his signature among those on a letter from Frankfort dated 3rd December. (Brief Discourse, p. xxvi.) The text of his call is given on page xix. of the B. Discourse.



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been forwarded him; and from this time onwards we have his hand and voice in the various proceedings.

Chambers, returning to Zurich, bore with him a letter<sup>1.</sup> which was a masterpiece of evasion masked behind an open countenance. To quote one sentence: "As touchinge the effecte off the booke, we desire the execution theroff as muche as yow, (so farr as Gods worde dothe commende it)." Now, such a sentence, if not framed deliberately to misrepresent (which is doubtful), at least left itself open to many interpretations, which could quite easily be, nay, quite certainly would be, different in the case of the senders and of the receivers. If the BCP had been purged so far as what Knox and his followers meant by "so farr as Gods worde dothe commende it", very little of the original would have been left.<sup>2.</sup> Such tactics do not commend themselves to men of this age.<sup>3.</sup>

A fortnight later, on 28th November, Chambers came again to Frankfort, this time by way of Strasburg, and bringing with him as an

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1. Dated 15th November. It is not signed by Knox, who therefore could not have arrived till the following week. (Brief Discourse, pp. xx-xxii.)
2. This is perfectly clear from e.g., Knox's own description of the troubles at Frankfort (LANS: KW, iv. 43-44, 46); and from the Latin (not so much the English which purports to be a translation of it in the Brief Discourse) of the letter Knox and Whittingham sent to Calvin describing the BCP shortly after this. It is contained in the Corp. Ref., XLIII. 337-344.
3. It is a question, of course, whether it is fair to judge this controversy by our standards at all. And certainly the other party was no better; cf. Brief Discourse, pp. xliii, xlv, liii, &c. Most of these men were of the most reputable of their day, and they were nationally recognised ecclesiastical leaders. Judged therefore by the standards of that age, their conduct must not have been considered blameworthy. Indeed, Whittingham wrote the Brief Discourse to vindicate at least his party's conduct. He must have felt then that all their dealings ~~were~~ *had been* honourable in every way.

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ambassador from the latter place, Edmund

Grindal.<sup>1.</sup> Grindal brought with him a

letter<sup>2.</sup> which contained an earnest plea to the group at Frankfort to accept the BCP (1552) as it stood "so farre as possiblie can be atteined, least by mucche alteringe off the same we shulde seeme to condemne the chieff authors theroff, who as they nowe suffer, so are they moste redie to confirme that facte with the price off their bloude, and shulde also bothe geue occasion to our adversaries, to accuse oure doctrine of imperfection, and vs of mutabilitie." They also add that if this is agreed to they will join the company at Frankfort in some three months' time, on about the 1st February 1555.

This letter was duly read to the congregation assembled,<sup>3.</sup> and an explanation of the contents given by Grindal, who said that the chief reason they had fled from England was that they might use the BCP according as their conscience demanded, but

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1. Grindal later became Primate of all England. He had a profound respect for Calvinism, and described Geneva as a "nurseryvnto God". (STRYPE: Grindal, ii.chap. 4). He was a noble type of man, and BAIRD (On Liturgies, pp. 155sq.) deals most unfairly and harshly with him.
2. Brief Discourse, pp. xxii-xxiii. The letter is dated 28rd November. It expresses the same sentiments as the earlier letter from Zurich, and is even clearer concerning the reason for their wishing to retain the BCP. In fact, it represents the wishes of all the other colonies of exiles, who during the period preceding have been corresponding with each other privately.
3. Brief Discourse, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

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at the same time they were not prepared to insist that "such ceremonies, and thinges whiche the countrie coulde not beare" be continued in use, so long as they might have "the substance and effecte theroff." Knox and Whittingham at once inquired what was meant by "the substance of the booke", and Grindal evaded the issue raised by declaring that he had no powers to dispute upon that matter, but that he should like the Frankfort congregation to answer certain questions for him.

First, he enquired which parts of the book they were prepared to accept; and received the same indefinite and impossible answer, "what they (the Anglicans) coulde proue off that Booke to stande withe gods worde, and the countrie permit", which, like Grindal's own phrase, "the substance and effecte theroff", might mean almost anything. Both sides seemed equally matched in the art of verbal fencing.

Seeing the impossibility of getting much further in that connection, Grindal now asked whether it would be possible to secure the use of a separate church at Frankfort for the company from Strasburg, and whether they could be assured of suitable housing. Reply was made that there was little hope of a separate church being provided before the council broke up at

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# THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

Augsburg, but that there would be no difficulty as regards housing and the freedom of the city.

After the meeting, Grindal and Chambers returned to Strasburg to report the answers they had received, ~~and~~ bearing with them a corroboratory letter.<sup>1.</sup> This letter was duly answered by those at Strasburg on 13th December, who signified their wish to break off negotiations for the time being, since matters had come to deadlock.

When the letter from Strasburg was read to the congregation at Frankfort, they decided to give their present attention to domestic matters, and without further delay to conclude upon an order of worship which might be used to the satisfaction of all, so that Communion might be celebrated and the general life of the congregation be no longer impaired.<sup>2.</sup>

After some discussion, it was agreed that "the order of Geneva whiche then was already printed in Englishe and some copies there among them shulde take place as an order moste godly and fardeste off from superstition."<sup>3.</sup> But when Knox was consulted, he refused to adopt

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1. Brief Discourse, pp. xxiv-xxvi. It is dated 8 December 1554, and is the first letter which includes Knox's signature among the others.

2. Brief Discourse, p. xxvii.

3. I.e., Huxley's translation (1550) of Calvin's La forme &c., (464.3.1.235) of this text. (Though purporting to be a translation of the Strasburg edn of the La forme, it was really much more closely affiliated to the more 'puritan' Genevan edn. of 1542.) Much of it was later incorporated into the English manuscript which is the subject of this chapter.

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that order till their brethren in Strasburg, Emden, Zurich, and elsewhere, were consulted and their advice solicited. Also, on the grounds of principle, he refused to celebrate Communion from the BCP; and, realizing that he had brought the congregation to an impasse, he offered to resign. They, however, would not hear of that.

It was at this juncture that Lever arrived from Zurich to share the pastorate with Knox.<sup>1.</sup> Before finally accepting it, in view of its difficulty and importance, he requested that "he might betweene that and Easter haue triall off them, and they off him." Under these conditions, he began his pastorate.

Although a Calvinist in his sympathies, he sought from the first to <sup>exercise</sup> ~~be~~ a mediating influence, and in the controversy that followed he even went so far as to throw his weight on the side of the Anglicans in order, if possible, to bring things to an issue satisfactory to all. Considering the difficulty of the present situation, he suggested that an independent order be drawn up, and that, for the present at least, both the Genevan Order and the BCP be alike ignored. Like most compromises, however,

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1. Brief Discourse, p. xxviii. The time was about the third week in December.

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the suggestion suited neither party, and it was rejected.<sup>1.</sup>

Knox, Whittingham, and some of the other Calvinists, began at this time to be somewhat alarmed at the growth in the Anglican party, and they conceived the plan of submitting the BCP to Calvin for his judgement upon it. Instead, however, of simply translating it into Latin (Calvin did not read English), and sending it to him for his unbiassed perusal, they composed a lengthy and belittling analysis<sup>2.</sup> of it in the Latin tongue, and sent ~~it~~<sup>that</sup> to him.

In spite of the bias of the analysis sent him, Calvin wrote a very mild reply,<sup>3.</sup> refusing to condemn the BCP as a whole, and suggesting that while there were some things that might be better put away, they could also be easily borne with.<sup>4.</sup> And he emphasised at the very commencement of his letter what a grievous

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1. Brief Discourse, p. xxviii.

2. The Latin is given in Corp. Ref. XLIII. 337-344. A very 'prudent' and partial translation of it is set down in the Brief Discourse, pp. xxviii-xxxiii. Although the author says in the Br. Dis. that "this description (to Calvin) is verve favourably put downe", it quite obviously was not, and as Hume Brown has said, the letter was throughout "expressly calculated to prejudice Calvin in the point submitted to him." (H. BROWN: Knox, i. p. 174). It is indeed difficult to conceive of Knox in his mildest moods speaking or writing of the BCP, without prejudice; and while the trouble that followed with Cox and his party may have heightened that prejudice, it can hardly be said with ~~Spence~~<sup>WOTWERSPOON</sup> that "their provoking and 'unbrotherly' actings seem to have been largely responsible for the completeness of his change of feeling as to the Common Prayer." (~~SPENCE~~<sup>WOTWERSPOON</sup>; Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. p. 21, footnote 2.) It has been too long the fashion among Presbyterian apologists to maintain that Knox once regarded the BCP with any warmth or kindness. From the beginning he had ever found "in the English Book... things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect." (LAING: KW, iv. 44.)

3. English in Brief Discourse, pp. xxxiM-xxxvi. (dated 20 Jan. 1555); Latin in LAING: KW, iv. 51 (dated 15 Feb. 1555). The fact that this letter was written initiated a correspondence later between the Anglican party and Calvin defending the Knoxian attack on the BCP. (Br. Discourse, pp. li-lv.)

4. The oft-quoted words, "tolerabiles ineptias".



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thing it ~~was~~ that "contention shulde arise amonge brethern banished and driuen owte of their countrie for one faithe" and, above all, that they should permit such a small matter as ceremonies to be an impediment preventing them from joining into one body of the Church. This, he said, "is too much owte of season."<sup>1</sup> In the latter part of his letter, however, he offered some objections to the BCP, and this filled the Calvinists with delight; indeed, they seem to have read only the last part, and <sup>to have</sup> quite forgotten the first part!

Upon the receipt of the letter, which does not seem to have affected the situation to any great extent, the congregation began seriously to endeavour to settle the troublesome question of an order upon which they could agree. After some debate, they appointed a committee consisting of Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Fox, and Cole,<sup>2</sup> "to drawe forthe some order meete for their state and time." The result of

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1. Professor Doumergue has pointed out very clearly that Calvin was always capable of compromise in matters unessential. (DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii. 500-502.) For example, while he disapproved of the Lutherans, he did not believe that they were a sufficient cause of separation; as for small external ceremonies (*observatiunculae*), "of a truth, I do not find in them much just cause for dissension." (CALVIN: Opera, X. ii. 340-341.) Professor Doumergue quotes several other similar instances on p. 501. He then goes on to show that Calvin practised what he commended, and how time and again he gave way in Geneva against his own better judgement: he acceded to the Genevan wish to have Communion only four times a year, while he would have wished it monthly, or indeed, weekly; how because of popular pressure he did not ~~admonish the sick~~ to the sick; how he omitted <sup>against his own judgment</sup> a declaration of absolution after the confession of sins. Many other instances could be quoted of his readiness to compromise for the sake of peace and unity: his giving up of the Confessional (HENRY: Life of Calvin, i. 142); his surrender of the rite of Confirmation (Tracts iii. 288; Instit. chrét. IV., xix., pp. 4-18). Had some of Calvin's followers and the Anglicans alike at Frankfurt shown more of his spirit, matters might have been different.
2. It should be noted that these all belonged to the Puritan party. Apparently the Calvinist majority were determined to protect their own interests. This appears further in the book they produced, for there is nowhere a shred of evidence that they made any attempt whatever to meet the wishes of the minority. It is entirely drawn from Calvinistic sources, or composed along similar lines, except in parts of an exhortation.

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their deliberations is the book which is here edited. It was not well received, and was apparently never used at Frankfort. Whatever is to be said about the merits or demerits of the book, it certainly could not be put forward as a fair compromise between Anglicanism and Calvinism, as it purported to be. The result was what might <sup>have</sup> been expected; the Anglicans would have none of it, and the contention between the two parties grew more than ever heated and bitter.<sup>1.</sup>

Little more of this melancholy history concerns us,<sup>2.</sup> for matters soon came to a head, and Knox and some of his followers withdrew. Suffice it to say, that when this book was refused as not being satisfactory, Knox and Whittingham (Calvinists), with Parry and Lever (Anglicans), were appointed a committee to compile another order. The result of these deliberations was the book happily dubbed by Dr. Sprott 'The Liturgy of Compromise'<sup>3.</sup> It was ac-

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1. Brief Discourse, p. xxxvii.

2. The remainder is chronicled in the Brief Discourse. Even after the Calvinists had withdrawn, the trouble continued till Elizabeth was crowned. Hume Brown (Knox, i. pp. 175-186.) deals with the further details.

3. Brief Discourse, p. xxxvii. This 'Liturgy' is published under the above title bound with WOTHEBSPON's Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (Blackwoods, 1905). PROCTER and FRERE give a wrong impression when they imply in their footnote 2, (A New Hist. of the BCP, p. 98) that the 'Lt. of Compromise' and the service described on pp. vi-vii of the Brief Discourse are the same. Cf. ut supra p. 9.



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cepted on 6 February 1555, to be continued in 434 until the end of April. Communion was celebrated according to the new form, and all seemed well for a season.<sup>1.</sup>

No sooner, however, had peace been established, than Cox with a company from England arrived on 13th March.<sup>2.</sup> This new group was entirely composed of Anglicans determined to stand staunchly for their views, and accordingly the troubles broke out afresh upon their arrival.<sup>3.</sup> Eventually by means which ~~by~~ the utmost charity could not be called fair, they succeeded in getting a majority control. Later, by an underhanded stroke,<sup>4.</sup> Knox was banished from the city and forced to sever his connection with the congregation. Thus the Anglican party won the day.<sup>5.</sup>

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1. The 'Lit. of Compromise' is very sketchily drafted in the manuscript which is preserved, but one or two interesting facts emerge. Communion was to be celebrated once a month; the little service of preparation before communion was restored to its rightful unity (Invitation, Confession, & Absoln., Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access), and placed in a very suitable place before the Eucharistic Prayer. There is also mention of a 'Preparatory Service' to be held on the Thursday before each Communion Sunday. (WOTHERSPOON: Sec. PB of Ed. VI., pp., 234-235).
2. Brief Discourse, p. xxxviii.
3. At first the congregation refused to admit them to full membership unless they signed the declaration agreeing to the polity, discipline, and worship at present in use; but Knox "unaccountably, defiantly, and mysteriously" pleaded that they be given voting power and membership without so committing themselves, and he prevailed. They at once took deliberate advantage of Knox's generosity, and set out to undo all that had been accomplished. Brief Discourse, pp. xxxix-xl. (Arbair's words)
4. Brief Discourse, p. xliv., LAING: KW iv.41-49. Later they attempted to justify themselves to Calvin by an appeal to their own characters, and to David Whitehead's judgement; also on the grounds that Knox had written (as he had done) an "outrageous pamphlet" (as it was), before which no one had been martyred in England, but as soon as it came forth the fires began to burn. Cf. Barker Soc., Orig. Lets., pp. 755-763 (Ed. 1848-7); LAING: Knox's Works, p.47, vol. iv.
5. The Troubles, however, were not over as the subsequent history shows. Brief Discourse, pp. xli.sq. Knox left Frankfort on 26 March 1555.



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Knox proceeded straightway to Geneva, where he was cordially welcomed by Calvin and hospitably received within the city. Here he gave himself up to the prosecution of further studies, and to the writing of various books and pamphlets. He was not granted, however, a very long period of leisure, for early in October members of the Puritan party at Frankfort began to join him at Geneva.<sup>1.</sup> Some of these had left Frankfort shortly after himself, but had gone to Bale and Zurich. On 10th June, Calvin had proposed to some of them that they come to Geneva, and the Council had declared themselves ready to be of what service they could.<sup>2.</sup> Accordingly, after their arrival, Calvin presented their requirements to the Council on 24 October 1555.<sup>3.</sup>

Meantime, they organised their church, and on 1st November, they elected Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby to minister the Word and Sacraments, in the absence of Knox.<sup>4.</sup>

Ten days later, the Council granted them

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1. The first arrivals came on 13th October, 1555. Livre des Anglois, p. 1. They were cordially received. Brief Discourse, p. lix. The first comers numbered 27 individuals.

2. Registres du Conseil, vol. xlix. 1555, fo. 102.

3. MARTIN: Les Prots. Ang., p. 89.

4. Knox having returned for a short time to Scotland. Goodman had been a theological professor at Oxford, and in 1554 had taken refuge in Strasburg with Peter Martyr. His name appears on a letter from Strasburg to Frankfort favouring the use of the RCP (R. Dis. p. xxiii). During the intervening time he had changed his mind apparently. Gilby was a distinguished biblical scholar of strong Puritan leanings. He had been in Frankfort, and was one of the committee who compiled the book here edited. When it was ~~published~~, he was largely responsible for persuading the congregation to compile the 'Liturgy of Compromise'. For their election, cf. Livre des Anglois, p. 49. They were sworn in as Ministers of the church by the Council on 29 November. Reg. du Cons. vol. 1. fo. 51. v. Martin, p. 37. ^ n. 125

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with the Italian refugees the joint-use of the Church of Marie la Nove. A fortnight later the conditions were defined: the English services were to be held on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays at 9 o'clock a.m.; and the Italians had the use of it the last three days of the week.<sup>1.</sup> Suitable arrangements between the two were no doubt made for Sundays also.

Thus originated the ~~Church of the English Church~~ *the coadj. of Puritanism,* congregation at Geneva, ~~and so began to~~ *and a powerful influence upon the Rsfm in Scotland,* ~~function the first Puritan congregation, for~~ *affected some four years later.* ~~already we have seen Puritanism had become~~

~~a distinct school if not yet a party in the~~  
~~Church.~~<sup>5.</sup> And here gathered many men who were or became distinguished in the Church in England and Scotland, great scholars and leaders of their day.<sup>2.</sup> During the four years its roll of membership mounted to a total of 186 persons.<sup>3.</sup> Perfect peace and harmony reigned throughout, unmarred by any dissensions. When the following year, Knox returned as Minister, he entered upon that period which he ever remembered as the happiest part of his chequered career.<sup>4.</sup> While

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1. Reg. du Cons., vol. 1. fo. 46; Cf MARTIN: Les Prots. Ang. pp. 39-40.

2. Martin gives a brief history of the more distinguished among them in his first chapter, ~~ibid~~ *op. cit.*

3. MARTIN: ~~ibid~~ p. 45.

4. "This place", he wrote in December 1556, *J. is the maist per-tyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the exth since the dayis of the Apostillis. In other places, I confess Chryst to be trewlie preacht; but maneris and religioun so sinclairlie reformat, I have not yit sene in any uther place.* LAING: KW, iv. p. 240. Cf. also H. BROWN: Knox, i. p. 194.

5. MARTIN: p. 40.

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his co-pastor, Goodman, wrote a similar testimony: "I do not now repent of having stood forth and laboured with others in that cause, which has been the chief occasion of that happy agreement and solid peace which, by the great blessing of God, we enjoy in this place: which I persuade myself never would have occurred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permitted to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of popery which they wished to force upon us." <sup>1.</sup>

Once established, their main task was to prepare a form of worship; and to this work they gave their immediate attention. They already had at hand, however, the forms which they had prepared and desired to use at Frankfort, before they <sup>had been</sup> ~~had been~~ forced to agree to the compromise edited by Sprott. This manuscript they took now, and without substantially altering it, <sup>2.</sup> they added a Preface, a collection of fifty metrical Psalms in English, and the English translation of Calvin's Catechism, <sup>4.</sup> and sent it to John Crespin's, whence it was issued on 10 February 1556. <sup>3.</sup>

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1. Parker Soc., Original Letters, p. 769, quoted by H. BROWN; Knox, 1. p. 208.
2. It may have been polished some as to style, and even may have been further 'purified', but it is likely that it was practically left untouched. The Preface is usually attributed to Whittingham, and Lorimer is probably near the truth when he suggests that the whole came from Whittingham's pen, (i.e. as editor), though in deciding the substance and arrangement Knox's influence at Frankfort would have been great, if not paramount. (LORIMER: Knox and the Ch. of Eng., p. 212)
3. Laing and McCrie are wrong in attributing the old style of calendar to Geneva at this time. They may have been moved to suggest this, and so have the book appear in 1557, when Knox was in Geneva, and not in 1556 during his absence. But the new style of dating from 1st January had been adopted in Geneva at least as early as 1532. For evidence and corroboration, cf. LORIMER: ibid.; H. BROWN: Knox 1. 188; MARTIN: ibid. p. 79.
4. That is, Haydock's of 1550.



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It continued unchanged to be the standard of worship in the congregation until the dissolution of the church at the accession of Elizabeth.<sup>1.</sup>

When the exiles returned to England, however, so enamoured had they become of the book that it was taken back with them, and various editions were printed<sup>2.</sup> in England and elsewhere, and were used by the Puritans<sup>3.</sup> in their worship till the Westminster Directory appeared in 1644.

Knox, returning to Scotland in 1559, brought copies with him also. Indeed, the year after its first publication it was authorised by the 'Lords of the Congregation' to be used in all churches in Scotland.<sup>4.</sup>

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1. Early in 1559 the first exodus took place, after a conciliatory letter had been sent (borne by William Kethe) to the other colonies of exiles, offering and begging full pardon and reconciliation. Some, such as Whittingham and Coverdale, remained to finish their work of translating the Bible, but the majority hastened back to take their share in the reconstruction labours awaiting them in England. A full account of the leave-takings and departure, together with notes on their subsequent careers is given by MARTIN: Les. Prots. Ang., pp. 255-295.
2. An account of these editions is given in the chapter of this thesis dealing therewith. - p. 39.
3. Evidence that the book was used in England as early as 1567 is found in Strype's writings. The Puritans began to assemble themselves in private houses, "and at these meetings, rejecting wholly the BCP, they used a Book of Prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there. Which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin, and the rest of his Divines there, and indeed was for the most part taken out of the Geneva form." (Life of Grindal, p. 169, Ed. Oxford 1821.) In the year 1571, there is this further evidence: "The Puritans... were not allowed licenses (if they had any before) to officiate in public, yet did still in their own or other Churches, or in private houses, read Prayers different from the established office of Common Prayer; using the Geneva form, or mingling the English Book." (Life of Parker, ii. 65, ed. 1821.) And in his Life of Whitgift (i. p. 348, ed. 1822) he describes the Puritans' effort to get their Discipline and worship adopted by Parliament in 1584. Further evidence is given by HALL in his Rel. Lit., pp. xiii sq. vol. I.
4. SAGE: Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, p. 167. Cf. also FAIRD: On Liturgies, p. 138.

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In 1560, the first Book of Discipline, directed that "the Sacramentis suld be ministerit after the Order of the kirk of Geneua",<sup>1.</sup> and this was confirmed by the General Assembly of 1562,<sup>2.</sup> while in 1564 a further act was passed "ordaining that every Minister, exhorter, reader, shall have one of the Psalm-Books lately printed at Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein, in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the Sacraments".<sup>3.</sup>

Thus was the 'Book of Geneva' accepted as the standard of worship in the Church of Scotland. It was first used as it was in Geneva, but later slight modifications, and numerous additions were made.<sup>4.</sup> After 1564, it was generally known as the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, but frequently referred to as the 'Psalm-Book'. It continued in use till the Westminster Directory superseded it in 1645.

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1. In the First Book of Discipline, LAING: Knox's Works, e.g. ii. 186. ~~of the Church of Scotland~~
2. Book of the Universal Kirk, Fifth Session of G.A., 1562. (p. 13)
3. SAGE: Presbytery Examined, p. 167. + CALDERWOOD: Hist. ii. 184.
4. A full account of all the editions used in Scotland is given in Cowan's Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1556-1644, which is printed in the Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vol. x (1911-13), pp. 53-100. In this thesis the editions printed before the book was adapted and adapted by the Church of Scotland are given on pp. 37-38.

THE HISTORY OF THE LATIN MANUSCRIPT



## THE HISTORY OF THE LATIN MANUSCRIPT

The Latin manuscript is simply a translation from the English book, prepared for the purpose of submitting it to Calvin and other Continental scholars who did not read English, that they might know and approve of the forms of worship used by the English Congregation at Geneva.<sup>1.</sup>

It is generally thought that the translator was Whittingham, but there is no direct evidence. The point is of no great importance.

Professor Mitchell<sup>2.</sup> some years ago brought forward the view, and Gordon,<sup>3.</sup> the most recent writer on the subject, quotes Professor Mitchell with apparent approval, that "the words and matter of Knox's Latin Prayer Book (as he designates the Ratio et Forma) of 1556 were directly derived from the Liturgia sacra of Pollanus"; "that is", adds Gordon, "from the 1554 or 1555 Frankfort edition." On this point Professor Mitchell "entertained no doubt whatever." Interesting as this conjecture is,<sup>4.</sup> however, it was not the case. The English

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1. It was of course a common practice for scholars to issue Latin translations of their works, so that scholars everywhere might read them. Calvin's La forme was translated in 1552 into the Latin, not by himself but "ab alio quopiam" as the title-page states. (Cf. ut supra p. 2.). Pullain in the Preface letter (Epistola Aedicatoria) of his Liturgia sacra, 1551, addressed to Edward VI., states that he is translating his Liturgy into the Latin in order to clear it from slanderous imputations. (Cf. ut supra p. 2.).
2. The Scottish Reformation, p. 127 - footnote 1.
3. Thesis, p. xxiv.
4. Dr. Wotherspoon affirms that this was also Prof. Cooper's view, and that he had hoped to edit Pullain's Lit. sac., 1554, in order to explore this view. His death came, however, shortly after he had had the transcription made. This from private conversation. But there is a reference to the projected task in WOTHERSPOON: James Cooper, pp. 382-383.

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was written before the Latin, and the foot-  
 notes to the drafts will clearly show that  
 much of the English is derived directly from  
 other English sources, mainly Huyeke's trans-  
 lation of Calvin's La Forme, and in one or  
 two instances from the BCP; and this could  
 not have occurred if the Latin were the primary  
 source. Further, the Latin of Pullain and  
 the Latin of the Ratio et forma are entirely  
 dissimilar, as the slightest comparison will  
 unvaryingly show.

Cowan places the Latin Manuscript second  
 in his Bibliography of the ECO<sup>1.</sup>, showing that, *in this case*,  
 it was printed in Geneva shortly after the  
 first English edition had been issued in 1556.  
 There was only the one edition of the Latin,  
 and copies are now very rare.

Because the English is the earlier, it  
 is placed in the first column of this thesis.  
 There is rarely any important difference of  
 sense between the English and Latin, but  
 the Latin tends less to ambiguity,—all ambigu-  
 ities being removed in it if possible,—and in  
 some cases slight additions or omissions  
 occur calculated to make the manuscript  
 more comprehensible to an outside reader.  
 This is the first time it has been edited  
 and reprinted.

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1. COWAN: Ribliog. p. 71.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY SHOWING THE GENEALOGY OF

"THE FORME OF PRAYERS, 1556, TOGETHER

WITH THE LATER EDITIONS, to 1565.



# GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTE: This Bibliog. is compiled from HUBERT: Skach. Rit. Ordo. and from BAUM in Cal. Opera VI, and by personal research in the British Library's manuscripts. utmost care has been taken in verification. The Bibliog. is calculated to show the precise pedigree of the Forme of Prayer here cited.

1. The red and black script of Diebold Schwarz, 1524, containing the oldest order for the Mass, Baptism, and Solemnization of Matrimony, in the German vernacular.

—The MS is in the St. Thomas Library, Strassburg. —A

2. Teütsche Mesz vnd Tauff wie sye yetzund zu Strassburg gehalten werden. Register büchlin über die geschriff von disputerlich en puncten. Georgij Spalatini Christliche gebett. Petbüchlin aus den Euangelien vnd Episteln samt de glauben vater vnser vñ den sibē Pszpsalmen.

Zu Strazburg. An. M.D. XXIIII.

(On the last page:

Getruckt zu Strassburg durch Wolff Köppel

auff dem Roszmarckt am xxiiij. tag Brachmonds im jar M.D. XXiiij.

—Copies at Jena, Copenhagen, Linden. —A<sup>1</sup>

3. Ordnung vñ ynhalt Teütscher Mesz so yetzund in gebrauch haben Evangelisten vñd Christlichen Pfarrherren zu Strassburg. M.D. XXiiij.

—Copy at Mairingen. —A<sup>2</sup>

4. Ordnung vnd inhalt Teutscher Mesz so yetzund in gebrauch haben Evangelisten Vnd Christlichen Pfarrherren zu Strassburg. M. D. XXiiii.

—Copies at Berlin and Strasburg. —A<sup>3</sup>

5. Deutsche Mesz wie sye yetzund zu Strassburg gehalten würt. Item Petbüchlein sampt vil andren, so in volgendem blatt verzeichnet ist. (Dated 3 September 1524)

—Copy lost. —A<sup>4</sup>

6. Ordnung vnd ynhalt Teütscher Mesz vñ Vesper. So yetzund in gebrauch haben Evangelisten vnd Christlichen Pfarrherren zu Strassburg. Mit etlichen Neüwen geschrifflichen Introit Gebet Vorred oder Prefation vnd Canon vor vnd nach vffhetüg des Sacramēts auch andren ordenungē in vorigem büchlin nit begriffen. (Date: 1525?)

—Copy at Strasburg. —B

7. Teütsch Kirchen ampt mit lobgesengen vñ götlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zu Strassburg singt vñ halt gantz Christlich.

—Copy in Copenhagen. —C<sup>1</sup>

8. Teutsch Kirchē ampt mit lobgsengen vñ götlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zu Strassburg singt vñ halt nit mer gantz Christlichē gebettē dan vorgetruckt. Singet dem Herren cyn Neüw lied Das er wunder than hatt. Psal. 98. Singet frölich

## GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gott, der vnser sterck ist Jauchzet dem Gott Jacob. Psal. 81.  
 Gedruckt by Wolff Köpphel. (Date: 1525)

—Original lost, but reprinted in facsimile and edited by  
 Karl Reinthaler, Erfurt, 1848. Copies of the reprint  
 are to be found in many German Libraries: Berlin,  
 Göttingen, Munich, Strasburg.

—C<sup>2</sup>

9. Theütsch kirchē ampt mit lobgsengē vñ göttlichen Psalmen, wie es die  
 gemeyn zñ Strassburg singt vñnd halt, mit meer gantz Christlichen  
 gebettē, dan vor getruckt. Psal. 89. Singet dē Herren ein neū  
 lied, Das er wunder than hat. Psal. 81. Singet fröhlich Gott, der  
 vnser sterck ist, Jauchzet dem Gott Jacob. M. D. XXV.

—Formerly in the possession of the antiquary Thoma in  
 Nuremberg, but now lost. Reprinted (Cf. HUBERT: Strsb. lit. p. xiv)

—C<sup>3</sup>

10. Ordnūg des Herren Nachtmal: so man die messz nennet  
 sampt der Tauff vn Insegūg der Be Wie yetzt die diener des  
 wort gots zñ Strassburg Erneüwert vñd nach göttlicher geschrift  
 gebessert habē vsz vrsach ja nachgender Epistel gemeldet.  
 M. D. XXV. (Containing a preface by Johann Schwan)

—Copies at Gelle and Mähingen. —D<sup>1</sup>

11. Ordnūg des herren Nachtmal: so man die Messz nennet  
 der Tauff vñ Insegung der Be Wie yetzt die diener des wort  
 gottes zñ Strassburg Erneüwert vñnd nach göttlicher geschrift  
 gebessert haben vsz vrsach ja nachgender Epistel gemeldet.  
 M. D. XXV.

—Copies at Berlin, Strasburg, Stuttgart, Wolfenbüttel,  
 and in the British Museum, London. —D<sup>2</sup>

12. Strassburger kirchen ampt, nemlich von Insegung d' Beleüt,  
 vom Tauf vñd von des herren nachtmal, mit etlichen Psalmen, die  
 am end des büchlins, ordenlich verzeychnet sein. Wolff Köpphel.  
 An. M. D. XXV. Menne Maio.

—Copy lost. —E

13. Psalmē gebett. vñd Kirchen übüg wie sie zñ Strassburg gehalten  
 werden. Rey Wolff Köpphel. 1526.

—Copy at Zurich. —F<sup>1</sup>

14. Psalmē gebett vñd Kirchen übüg wie sie zñ Strassburg gehalten  
 werden. Rey Wolff Köpphel. 1526.

—Copy at Göttingen. —F<sup>2</sup>

—A later edition of same at Nuremberg. —F<sup>3</sup>



## GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

15. Psalmen gebett vnd kirchen Übung wie sie zu Straszburg gehalten werden. Bey Wolff Köppl 1530.

—Copies at Berlin and Strasburg. —G

16. Psalmen gebett vnd kirchen Übung, wie sie zu Straszburg gehalten werden. Bey Wolff Köppl 1533.

At the end - Gedruckt zu Straszburg bey Wolff Köppl, Im jar als man salt. M. CCCCC. XXXIII.

—Copy lost. Reprints: Cf. HUBERT, p.xx. —H

17. La Maniere et fasson quon tient en baillant la saint baptesme en la sainte congregation de dieu; et en epousant ceulx qui viennent au saint mariage et a la sainte cene de nostre seigneur, es lieu lesquelz dieu de sa grace a visite, faisant que selon sa sainte parole ce quil a deffendu en son eglise soit rejecte, et ce quil a commande soit tenu.

Aussi la maniere comment la predication commence, moyenne et finit, avec les prieres et exhortations quon faict a tous et pour tous, et de la visitation des malades.

Imprime par Pierre de Vingle a Neufchatel le xxix jour Daoust. Lan 1533.

—Copy in the Zurich Library. —X

Reprinted by J.G. Baum in 1859, with a critical introduction.

Prof. Baum deduced it to be the work of Farel, after the German had been roughly translated <sup>by Zerkinden (?)</sup> (adds Prof. Erichsen). From

this Calvin derived his Marriage Service directly. Other-

wise it has no bearing on the "Forme of Prayers &c," 1556.

It is a translation likely of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~original~~ <sup>original</sup> ~~of the~~ <sup>of the</sup> ~~Marriage Service~~ <sup>Marriage Service</sup>, ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~certain~~ <sup>certain</sup> ~~simplifications~~ <sup>simplifications</sup>, ~~re-~~ <sup>re-</sup> ~~arrangements~~ <sup>arrangements</sup>, and slight additions.

Baum's edition is entitled: "La manière et fasson quon tient es lieux que Dieu de sa grace a visités. Première Liturgie des Églises réformées de France de l'an 1533 publiée d'après l'original à l'occasion du troisième jubilé séculaire de la constitution de ces églises, l'an 1859 par Jean-Gaillaume Baum, professeur et pasteur à Strasbourg. (Strasbourg and Paris, 1859).

18. Psalter mit aller Kirchenübūg die man bey der Christlichen Gemein zu Straszburg vnd anders wa pflāgt zu singen. Mit seinem ordenlichen Register. Strassburg bey Wolff Köppl.

And on another page: Zu Straszburg bey Wolff Köpffel.

Anno M. D. XXXIX.

—Original at Strasburg. —K

From this copy directly Calvin drew his liturgy. It is quoted frequently in the thesis, and the connection shown.



GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

19. La maniere de faire prieres aux eglises francoyses, tant deuant la predication, comme apres, ensemble pseumes et canticques francoys quon chante aux dictes eglises, apres sensuyt lordre et facon d'administrer les sacrementz de Baptisme, et de la sainte Cene de nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ, de espouser et confirmer le mariage deuant l'assemblee des fideles, avecques le sermon tant du Baptisme que de la Cene. Le tout selon la parolle de nostre seigneur. 1542.

At the end: Imprimé à Rome par le commandement du pape, par Theodore Prüssz allemand, son imprimeur ordinaire Le 15 de feburier.

—Copy in the possession of M. Strohlin, deposited in the Library at Geneva. This is the Service Book of Pierre Brully, who succeeded Calvin as Pastor of the French Church at Strasburg. It is the only known edition, but in another place in the year 1542 Brully speaks of another edition ("widerumb in Druck"), so there may have been one preceding this (Cf. DOUTERMER: Calvin, ii.489, note 1; Calvini Opera VI, p.xv; ERICHSON: Die Gottesdienstord. p.9, note 1. &c.) In all likelihood, this was not the first edition, but it is the only one at present known; and it serves to link even more closely Calvin and the German Psalter, 1539 (K). It illustrates what Calvin's rite while in Strasburg must have been.

The note of the printer's name and town is a mere ruse, and Erichson is of the opinion that the actual printer was Kneblech, of Strasburg. (op.cit., p. 10)

—L

20. La Forme des Prieres et Chantz Ecclesiastiques avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, et consacrer le Mariage: selon la coustume de l'eglise ancienne. (Here are quoted the texts from Psa. cxlix.1 and Psa. cl.6).

M. D. XLII. (Geneva)

—Copy in the Royal Library at Stuttgart. Reprinted with notes of variations in all later editions in the Calvini Opera, VI, in the Corpus Refor., XXXIV. The original work was likely printed by Jean Gerard at Geneva. It contains the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the Nunc dimittis in French metre, together with thirty-five Psalms, and the various Orders for services and sacraments. It represents Calvin's Genevan use, and is therefore ~~revised~~ simplified to meet the iconoclastic opinion he found there, a legacy from Farel.

—M

21. La Forme des Prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques avec

## GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

la maniere d'administrer les sacramens, et consacrer le mariage: selon la coustume de l'eglise ancienne. (Here a part of Cal.iii.16 is quoted.) Imprimé à Strasbourg, L'an 1545.

—Copy in the Town Library at Strasburg. This edition was prepared by Calvin for the use of his old congregation at Strasburg, and is an extremely interesting one. It is closely related to L, and is not hampered by the same narrow opinions prevalent in Geneva. It contains the same preface as the Geneva edition, with four pages added, and an important additional preface to the Lord's Supper, expressing his own views. In it are also contained the same canticles as in the edition of 1542, with an ~~edit~~ additional version of the Decalogue, a "Salutation to Jesus Christ", and thirteen more Psalms in metre, ascribed to Clement Marot. There may have been another edition previous to this, which is now lost.

—N

22. La Forme des Prieres avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacramens, et consacrer le Mariage; selon la coustume de l'eglise ancienne. 1547.

—This contains slight revisions from 1542, and is the standard for the editions following. It was likely published by Gerard at Geneva. There are no psalms and canticles bound with it.

—M<sup>1</sup>

LATIN TRANSLATION of the above "ab alio quopiam" published at Geneva in 1552. It appears to have been before the compilers of The Forme of Prayers &c, 1558, and was used at least in connection with the Private Prayers.

for full title see page 2, footnote 2.  
→ Printer please copy in here

—M<sup>2</sup>

23. The forme of common praiers vsed in the churches of Geneua: The mynystracion of the sacramentes, of Baptisme and the Lordes supper: The vysitation of the sycker: And the Cathecisme of Geneua: made by master Iohn Caluyme. In the ende are certaine other Godly prayers primate to be vsed: translated out of the frenche into Englyshe. By William Haycke. Certayne graces to be added in the ende, to the prayse of God, to be sayde before or after meales.

(At the end:) Imprinted at London by Edward Waiitchurche the VII day of Iune. 1550. Cum priuilegio, ad imprimendum solum.

—Copies in the British Museum and the Cambridge Univ. Lib. This is a translation (the first in English) of Calvin's Service Book, that of 1542 (M) or of 1547 (M<sup>1</sup>), but not of 1545 (N), as has been mistakenly held by some. It also appears to contain matter of its own; that may be derived from some edition now lost. Much of the Forme of Prayers &c., 1558, is taken directly



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from it; that also appears to have been hitherto unrealised, though many have thought that there <sup>might be</sup> ~~was~~, a somewhat close connection between the two.

—O

24. Liturgia sacra, seu Ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter Euangelium Christi Argentinae. Adiecta est ad finem brevis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, Per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum. Psalm 149. Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia Sanctorum. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1551.

(At the end:) Psalm 149. Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia Sanctorum. Impressum Londini per Stephanum Mierdmannū. 23. Februar. An. M. D. L. I. S.D.S.M. Fleuron.

—Copies in the British Museum, Camb. Univ. Lib., and the Library of the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français in Paris.

Pullain was also a successor of Calvin in the French Prot. Church at Strasburg, and this rite is closely related to the rite celebrated there. It is in fact largely a translation into the Latin of N and L, with certain notes &c added.

—P

25. L'Ordre des Prières et ministere Ecclesiastique avec La forme de penitence pub. & certaines Prières de l'Eglise de Londres, Et La confession de Foy de l'Eglise de Glastonbury en Somerset. Luc. 21. Veillez & priez en tout temps afin que puissiez euitier toutes les choses qui sont à aduenir, & assister deuant le Fils de l'homme. A Londres. 1552.

—Copies in the British Museum, Univ. of Cam. Lib., and the Town Library at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is largely a translation of P, <sup>& really another edition of P & N,</sup> with the Confession of Faith added. (P. 1)

—P<sup>1</sup>

26. Liturgia sacra, seu ritus Ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiae ad Moenum. Addita est summa doctrinae seu fidei professio eiusdem Ecclesiae. Psalm. CXLIX. Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia Sanctorum. Ioan. I. Veni et vide. Francofordiae 1554.

(At the end:) Impressum Francofordiae apud Petrum Brubachium. 1554

—Copies in the British Museum, Glasgow Univ. Lib., Zurich Town Lib., Lib. of the French Church at Frankfort.

It is a modification and simplification of P and P<sup>1</sup>. From its pages the compilers of the Forme of Prayer, 1556,



## GENEALOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

certainly drew. This edition has been translated and edited by Gordon in a thesis for the University of Edinburgh, 1928. A second edition was published at Frankfurt in 1555. — Q'

—Q

27. The forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn. &c. &c.

Imprinted at Geneva by Iohn Crespin. M. D. LVI. (*of the printing house*)  
 — *Colophon states that it was printed on February 10, 1556*  
 —Copies in the National Library, Edinburgh, the Bodleian lib., Camb. Univ. Lib., Town Lib. at Zurich. This edition is here edited. (Referred to usually as FP, 1555).

—R

28. Ratie et forma publice orandi Deum, atque administrandi Sacramenta, etcaest. in anglorum ecclesiam, quae Geneuae colligitur, recepta: cum iudicio & comprobatione D. Iohannis Caluini. &c. &c.

—Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian lib., Town Lib. at Zurich, and in Prof. William Cowan's private Lib. This edition is here edited *for the first time. in part x*

—R<sup>1</sup>

29. The Ferme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacramentes, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: and approued by the famous and Godly learned man, Iohn Caluin. 1 Cor. III. No man can laye any other foundation, then that which is laid, euen Christ Iesus. Printed at Geneva by Iames Poullain and Antonie Rebul. M.D.LVIII.

—Copy in the private library of T. E. Aylward, Esq., Cardiff. This edition contains eleven new Psalms in metre (9 by Whittingham, and 2 by Pullain), and there has also been added a metrical version of the Nunc dimittis by Whittingham. Two new prayers (SPROTT: RQO, pp. 185-191) find a place, and four thanksgivings before and after meat (op. cit., pp. 181-183).

—R<sup>2</sup>

30. The Ferme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacramentes, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: and approued by the famous and Godly learned man. M. Iohn Caluin. 1. Corinth. III. No man can laye any other foundation, then that which is sayde, euen Christ Iesus. 1561.

—Copies in the Trinity College Lib. Camb., and in the Univ. Lib. Camb. (incomplete), and in Prof. Cowan's priv. lib.

Although there is no name of printer or place of printing, it was likely printed at Geneva. The Psalms (though mentioned in the index) do not form a part of the volume; while at the end

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the Confession and Long Prayer are repeated, some changes being made in the latter, which are noted in LAINC: KM, iv., 184 sq. H.R. also the misprint in the title: "sayde" for "layde".

—R<sup>3</sup>

31. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, etc..used in the English Church at Geneva, and approued by the famous and godlie learned man, Iohn Calvin. Whereunto are also added the prayers which thei vse there in the French Church. With the Confession of Faith which al they make that are receiued into the Vniuersitie of Geneva. The contents of this booke are contained in the page following. 1 Corinth. III. No man can laye any other fundation then that which is laid, euen Christ Iesus. Printed at Geneva by Zacharie Durand. M.D.LXL.

—Copy in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The prayers which the title-page announces to have been added are missing from the edition (they apparently appear first in the later Edinburgh edn. of 1562), but two private prayers (Cf. SPROTT: PCO, pp. 191-193) comprise an addition. The Psalter contains 87 Psalms in metre, 25 new ones having been added in this edition, 24 of which are attributed to Kethe, and the remaining one (the well-known 100th) to Sternhold, though it also it is almost certain was written by Kethe (Cf. CONAN: Bibliog., p. 72). The Lord's Prayer, in metre, by Coxe, is also included for the first time in this edition.

—R<sup>4</sup>

32. The Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, etc..used in the English Church at Geneva, and approued by the famous and godlie learned man Iohn Calvin, whereunto are also added the praiers which thei vse there in the Frêche Church. With the confession of faith whiche all they make that are received into the vniuersitie of Geneva. 1 Cor. III. No man can laye any other fundation thē that which is laid, euen Christ Iesus. Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik. Cum priuilegio. 1562.

—Copy in the National Library, Edinburgh. This edition marks the transition between the Book of Geneva and the PCO. It has all the matter found in the first division of the previous editions, save that the Confession of sins (SPROTT: PCO, p. 82) is a drastically amended version of the first from Daniel 9. Slight alterations have also taken place in the private prayers. The two prayers used in the French Church at last find a place (SPROTT: PCO, pp. 92-104), and also "A godly prayer" (God the Father of our Lord J X) not found in any other edition; and a Confession of Sins, the opening paragraph of which was retained for the alternative Confession in later editions. The Confession of Faith mentioned in the title is not included. There are no Psalms and Catechism in this volume.

—S

33. The Forme of Prayers and ministration of the Sacraments etc. used in the English Church at Geneva, approued and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besides that was in former booke, are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of David in English meter. The contents of this booke are contained in the page following. 1 Corinth. III. No man can lay any other fundation, then that which is laid, euen Christ Iesus. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik. M.D.LXIII or M.D.LXV.

—Copies in Corpus Christi College, Oxford (edn. dated 1564), Camb. Univ. Lib., British Museum, National Lib. Scotd. (the last



three bearing the date of 1555, though same edition). LAING: KN, iv., has recorded in detail the changes and additions in this text as compared with the previous editions. Here for the first time are the full 150 Psalms in metre, with music; the Catechism and private prayers are also included. The Prayer made at the First Assembly of the Congregation (Cf. part III, edn. 1556) has found its way in again, and all the prayers in SPROTT's BCO Private Prayers (but the last) are here included. While a Kalendar appears for the first time. This is the first edition to be formally accepted as the Service Book of the Church of Scotland by the General Assembly.

p. 205 of the B.M.

Following this are some 60 editions printed for use as the BCO of the Church of Scotland, more or less complete. They are given and their important variations recorded in COWAN's Bibliog. of the BCO, pp. 74-100.

It should also be noted that many editions (with varying variations) were printed for the use of the Puritan Congregations in England. The first known such edition is that of Waldegrave, entitled 'A booke of the forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacraments &c. agreeable to Gods Worde, and the use of the reformed CHVRCHES.' It bears no date, but was likely printed in 1584 or 1585. It is reprinted in HALL: Frag. Lit., i. pp. 1 sq., and he also makes mention of it in his introduction. Schilders of Middleburg printed at least three further editions of the same book, in 1586, 1588, 1602, for the use of the English Puritans. These editions are referred to from time to time in this thesis. Many other editions must have appeared for the use of the Puritans, but of them all trace has since been lost. *The originals of these are in the B.M.* It is also of interest that editions of the Genevan Forme of Prayers were prepared and printed in London in 1641, 1642, and 1644, to be submitted to the Parliament and Westminster Assembly by the Puritans. A full account of these is given by HALL in his Bel. Lit. i., and in his Frag. Lit. i., and in the former the Middleburg edn. is also reprinted. He also gives a full account of their connection with English Puritanism; this thesis deals only with the usages.

An important source also of the FP 1556, was the Book of Common Prayer, 1552. It has not been included in the Geneal. Bibliog. because it is not in the direct descent; and while parts of prayers and exhortations were used from it (these are noted in the footnotes), no service was followed qua such. The text of the BCP quoted is from Everyman's edition or from Frightman's English Rite. *(to text)*

Directly connected also with the FP was the Westminster Directory (this also appears from the footnotes). The one here quoted is one of the original edition, now housed in the National Library at Edinburgh. I quote the title in full below.

A DIRECTORY For The Publique Worship of God throughout the Three KINGDOMS of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of COMMON-PRAYER: AND For establishing and observing of this present DIRECTORY throughout the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.

Die Feuis, 12. Martii 1644. Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that this ordinance and Directory bee forthwith Printed and Published: Joh: Brown, Cleric Parliamentorum. H: Elfyng libr. Parl. D. Com.

LONDON Printed for Euan Tyler, Alexander Piffeld, Ralph Smith, and John Field; and are to be sold at the Sign of the Bible in Cornhill, near the Royall-Exchange. 1644.

It is also of interest that most of the prayers (public and private) in the FP are reprinted for private devotional use in BULL's Christian Prayers (Cf. Parker Soc. edn.) which passed through many editions after 1558. The Communion Prayers are also included in Queen Elizabeth's Book of Private Prayers (Cf. Parker Soc. edn. ed. by CLAY), 1576, and others may have appeared in the first edition, 1569. BAIRD (On. Lits. p. 202) also states that the FP was printed often at the back of BIBLES between 1596 and 1640, but a careful examination of the copies in the British Museum has not permitted verification of this fact. It is possible, however, that he had access to other copies.

Marco's "Forma uel typus" is not included in this Bibliog. because it had no influence which can be directly traced upon the FP 1556. His complete Formae Prætorum was not published till 1555, after the FP had been compiled. His set of 1551 consisted only of a few prayers, which have no bearing on the FP. While in many things he is similar, it is a reflection of the common origin. His sections on Discipline influenced Rex in the first Book of Discipline, and also in the Order for Sacramentation in the BCO, later.



THE TITLE-PAGES AND TABLES OF CONTENTS

## TITLE-PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINIS-  
TRATION OF THE SACRAMENTES, &c.  
vsed in the Englishe Congregation  
at Geneua: and approued, by the  
famous and godly learned man,  
Iohn Caluyn.

RATIO ET FORMA PVELICTO CRANCI  
DEVM, AICVE ADMINISTEANTII SACFA-  
MENTA, et caet. In Anglorum Ec-  
clesiam, quae Geneuae colligitur,  
recepta: cum iudicio & comproba-  
tione L. Iohannis Caluini.

DEVICE <sup>1.</sup>

The letter "Y" with a  
robed and bearded fi-  
gure, holding a rod  
pointing to the narrow  
upper branch of the let-  
ter; and a scroll ins-  
cribed, "INTRATE PER  
ARCTAM VIAM"; and printed  
perpendicularly on the  
sides this text - "The  
way of life is streiote  
and few finde it. Mat. 7."

DEVICE <sup>2.</sup>

An Anchor, twined about  
at the top bar by a ser-  
pent, while two hands  
coming from the clouds  
grip the upright bar.  
Printed perpendicularly  
on each side are the  
words, "Sacra Anchora".

They haue forsaken me, the well of  
the water of lyfe, and dygged theym  
selues pyttes, yea vyle and broken  
pyttes, that can hold no water.  
Jere. 2.

1. Cor. iii.

Fundamentum aliud praeter id quod  
iactum est, nemo potest ponere,  
quod est Iesus Christus.

Imprinted at Geneua by Iohn Crespin  
M. D. LVI.

Geneuae  
Apud Ioannem Crispinum, M. D. LVI.

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1. This device was a common one from Crespin's press. It is no doubt designed to represent God's prophet pointing the only way of salvation.
2. This device is also familiar. It is derived from early Christian symbols: the Anchor for the Cross; the Serpent, the Son of Man lifted up (St. John iii. 13-14); the Hands, the Father.

THE PAGES OF CONTENTS

THE CONTENTES OF THE BOOKE.

REERV NOTATIO QVAE in hoc libello habentur.

- 1 The confession of the Christian faythe.
- 2 Thorder of electinge Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.
- 3 Thassembly of the Ministry euery thursdāye.
- 4 An order for the interpretation of the scriptures, and answeringe of dowtes, obserued euery mundaye.
- 5 A confession of our synnes vsed before the sermon and framede to our state and tyme.
- 6 An other confession for all states and tymes.
- 7 A generall prayer after the sermon, for the whole estate of Christes Church.
- 8 The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.
- 9 The forme of Mariage, the Visitation of the sycke and the Maner of Buriall.
- 10 An order of Ecclesiasticall Discipline.
- 11 One and fyftie psalmes of David in metre.
- 12 The Catechisme of M. Caluyn. etct.

- 1 Confessio Christianae fidei.
- 2 De conscribendis Pastoribus, Senioribus & Diaconis.
- 3 Ministerii conuentus, vnaquaque quarta die hebdomadae.
- 4 Formula interpretandi Scripturas, prima septimanae die obseruata.
- 5 Confessio totius Ecclesiae nomine paulo ante concionem habita, ac temporib. accommodata.
- 6 Altera ad omnia temporum & ordinum momenta pertinens.
- 7 Preces à concione, ad vniuersae Ecclesiae Christianae commodum factae.
- 8 Ratio administrandi Baptismi, ac Cenae Dominicae.
- 9 Modus instituendi matrimonii.
- 10 De visitandis aegrotis.
- 11 Ratio efferendi funus.
- 12 De disciplina Ecclesiastica.

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NOTE: The order of the contents in the Latin edition is not as it appears in the page of contents. The following is the actual order in both editions:

ENGLISH EDITION

LATIN EDITION

- Contents page
- Preface Letter
- Confession of Faith
- Requirements in Ministers
- Office and duty of Ministers
- Election of Ministers
- Elders, their election and office
- Deacons, their election and office
- Note re Doctors
- The Thursday Consistory
- The Weekly Exercise of the Congregation
- A Confession of sins from Daniel
- A Confession for all states and times
- Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church
- Note re Daily Services
- Order of Baptism
- Order for Communion
- Order for Marriage
- The Visitation of the Sick
- Burial Directions
- Discipline

- Contents page
- Preface Letter
- Confession of Faith
- Confession of sins from Daniel
- A Confession for all states and times
- Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church
- Note re Daily Services
- Order of Baptism
- Order for Communion
- Order for Marriage
- Visitation of the sick
- Burial Directions
- Discipline
- Requirements in Ministers
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- The Thursday Consistory
- The Weekly Exercise of the Congregation



## THE PREFACE LETTER

## INTRODUCTION TO THE PREFACE LETTER

The preface letter "to our bretherne in Englan<sup>o</sup>, and elsewhere" is commonly ascribed to Whittingham,<sup>1.</sup> though in all probability Goodman and Gilby collaborated with him. It was composed while the rest of the book was in process of printing.<sup>2.</sup> Knox could not have had any part in its compilation, since he was absent in Scotland while the book was going through the press. It lacks also the pungence and martial flavour of his writings, and is smoother and less broken in style.

The letter is closely related to certain parts of Pullain's letter "Ad lectorem candidum" in his Liturgia sacra, 1554; and it goes back of that to certain utterances of Calvin. While there is no verbal agreement, the same views are expressed, and sometimes in the same sequence, so there can be no question of their close relationship.

The Latin version is for the most part an expansion of the English, and while the essential sense is not changed, the thought is more clearly defined.

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1. Whittingham was born in Chester in 1524, and became an accomplished scholar, studying at Oxford, Paris, and in several German universities, finally coming under Calvin's influence at Geneva. His studies completed, he returned to England shortly after the death of Edward VI; but soon found it necessary to return to the continent, where he eventually came to Frankfurt. Of his activities there we have already heard. At Geneva, because of his understanding of the French tongue, coupled with his wide learning and graces of mind and heart, he occupied a very influential position in the congregation. During one of Knox's absences he was ordained, and became a co-pastor. He rendered many services to the learning of his day by his indefatigable work as a translator. He revised Tyndal's NT in 1557, and also played a large part in the translation of the Genevan Bible, staying in Geneva till 1560 to complete the work. He is the author also of several of the metrical versions of the Psalms &c appended to the service book of 1556. On his return to England, by the good offices of the Earl of Warwick, he was made Dean of Durham (without re-ordination), and in that place he died in June, 1579. While Dean of Durham he wrote the Brief Discourse. A brief contemporary biography of Whittingham is contained in LORIMER: Knox and the Ch. of Engd., pp. 303-317. Cf also MARTIN: Les Prots. Ang. 49-51.
2. This conjecture seems warrantable in view of the missing pages between the preface and the Confession of Faith. Cf. ut supra p. 1.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE PREFACE LETTER

This preface letter is to be found only in the Genevan editions. When the book was modified and adopted by the General Assembly in Scotland and printed in Edinburgh, the letter was omitted. It was also omitted in the editions designed for Puritan use in England.

It is not mentioned in the Table of Contents.

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THE PREFACE LETTER<sup>1</sup>

TO OVR BRETHRE IN ENGLANDE, AND  
ELS where which loue Jesus Christe  
vnfaynedly, mercie, and peace.

IT IS MORE euidēt and known  
to all men, thē well cōsidered  
and thākfully receyued of many,  
with what greate mercies,  
and especiall graces  
god enduede our countrye of  
England in these latter  
days:  
when from idolatrie  
he called vs to the knowledge  
of his gospell,  
and of no people made vs  
his people, the people of god:

sendinge vs a king<sup>2</sup> moste  
godly, learned,  
zealous, wyse, and such one  
as neuer sate  
in that royall chaire before:

Gods weord vniuersally spred ouer  
all the lande, repentance preached,  
Christes kingdome offered, sinne re-  
buked: so that none coulde excuse  
him selfe, either that he had not  
hearde, or els was not taught gods  
holy ghospell: yet it came to  
passe, and this day, that is  
verified on vs, which the lord  
reproued Israell fore, sayinge, I  
haue stretched forth the my handes all  
the day longe, vnto a people that be-  
leueth not, but rebelleth againste  
me, ~~and~~ walke after their owne ymagin-  
ations.

SPATIAM & misericordiam vobis à  
Deo Patre, qui vel in Anglia, vel  
aliis locis degentes, Christum  
Iesum ex animo colitis.

NVLLA res est, aut fuit vnquam, viri  
fratres, vniuerso hominū generi ac  
ordini notior, licet minus quidem  
à singulis, quàm pro rei magnitudine  
docebat, laetanter accepta, quàm  
incredibile illud, ac post homines  
natos praeclarissimum in Angliam  
nostrā postremis hisce temporibus  
Dei beneficium: quibus idolatriae  
tenebris disiectis, nos in suavis-  
simam Euangelii sui lucem ac liber-  
tatem vindicauit, exque alienigena  
populo, suum populum, sanctum ac sibi  
gratum effecit. Nam vt ex tanta vario-<sup>2</sup>  
tate pauca quaedam cōmemoremus, Regem  
cuiusmodi? quàm pium, quàmque doctum,  
prudentem, moderatum? quanto denique  
verae religionis ardore, prae aliis  
omnibus in eo praesertim dignitatis  
gradu constitutis accensum nobis con-  
tulit? Euangelium verò tam latè pa-  
tebat, quantum regni sui pomoeria ac  
ditiones prouehebantur. Veruntamen  
nec populi inscitiam atque ignauiam,  
quòd non habebat vnde disceret, excus-  
are: nec ministrorum diligētiam, quasi  
strenuè officio perfungerentur, vehe-  
menter probare licuit. Nam vterque  
sanè in vitio fuit, vt non immeritò  
ad nos illud pertineat, quod apud  
Isaiam Domin' Israeli exprobrat, Expandi  
manus meas quotidie ad contumacem con-  
tradicientēque populum, quem sua solius  
consilia & instituta delectāt.

Vbi enim integritas, vbi fides, aut

\*\*\*\*\*

1. In the English edition this letter occupies pp. 1-24; in the Latin, pp. 1-18.  
In both it is in smaller type than the remainder of the volume.

2. Edward VI., the Protestant prince.

## THE PREFACE LETTER

For whose ways were not  
corrupt? euẽ from the highest to the  
lowest, from toppe to toe,  
there was no part sownde.

Suche contẽpt of gods word,  
aswell on their behalf to  
whõ charge of preachinge was  
cõmytted, as on the other  
syde, negligẽce to heare and  
learne to frame their lyues  
accordĩge ther vnto: that  
yf the lord had not hastened  
his plague, and preuented, it wolde  
certẽly haue come to passe, whiche  
those wycked mẽ of Anathoth sayed to  
the prophet Hieremie, speake no more  
to vs in this name of the lorde.\*  
The which vnkyndnes and contempt,  
wold god we coulde as earnestly  
repent,

as we nowe feele the lacke of these  
accustomed mercies. for nowe the day  
of our visitation is come, and the  
lorde hath broght the plagues vpõ  
vs, wherof before we were admoneshed,  
and most iustely menaced. For the  
false prophets are sent forthe with  
lies in their mouthes to  
deceyue Englãd,  
and the scarcetie of gods  
worde is so great  
that although they seke it from one  
sea coaste to an other, yet they can  
not finde yt, but as men affameshed  
deuoure the pestiferous dounge of  
papistrie, to the poisoninge of  
their owne soules.<sup>1</sup>

Let vs therfore bretherne  
tourne wholly to the lord,

\*\*\*\*\*

\*Hier. 11. d.

1. This rather vivid paragraph is the writer's description of England  
under Mary Tudor.

religio erat? Annõ quisque viã suam  
corruperat? à summo, ad infimum: ab  
imis vnguibus, vsque ad verticem  
nihil sanum, nihil integrum, aut reco-  
tum. Nam siue eos respicias, quorum  
alios & sermone saluberrimo, & vitiae  
exemplum instituere interfuit: siue  
quos doctorum hominum consiliis ob-  
temperare oportuit mores consideres,  
summam vndiquaque diuini verbi non  
modò negligẽtiam, sed contemptum etiam  
& fastidium vidisses: nec proprius  
verò quicquam fuit, quàm si vel tan-  
tillum vindictam suam procrastinasset  
Dominus, vt in hanc Anathetorum contra  
Hieremiam sententiam omnes conspiras-  
semus, Caue posthac hoc sermonis  
genere aduersum nos vtare.\*

Atque vtinam hoc nostrum scelus, ac  
immane dedecus, tam nobis concederetur  
deplorare, ac lachrymis eluere, quã  
propriae miseriae sensu lahefactati,  
solitaeque beneficentiae penuria in-  
citati, culpã agnoscamus? Haec enim dies,  
hec illa dies iustam moeroris causam  
affert, quum Dominus illas poenas, quas  
iam pridem denunciauerat, de nobis re-  
petitũ venerit.

Falsos siquidem vates mendaciisque  
instructos emisit Deus, qui Angliam à  
fide abducerent, ac praestigiis miseros  
homines obstupescerent. Famem etiam  
tam prodigiosam verbi sui excitauit,  
vt homines licet ab vna ora maritima  
ad alteram vsque latranti stomacho  
alimentum quaerant, tantum abest vt  
pastum inueniant, vt ad corporis simul  
& animi perniciem, se pestilentissimo  
illo Antichristi fermento ingurgitent.<sup>1</sup>

Nostrum est igitur, fratres, ante-  
actae vitae paenitentiam agere, nõsque



## THE PREFACE LETTER

by repentance, fastyng<sup>1</sup>e, and prayer,  
earnestly beseeching him to receyue  
vs once agayne to his fauor,  
who willeth not

the death of a synner,  
but his amendement,  
offeringe him selfe to all theym  
that in their  
necessitie seeke vnto him,  
and like  
a moste mercifull father,  
proueth all remedies for our better-  
inge:  
not cruelly ponishinge to destroy  
vs, but  
gently chastisinge to saue vs.

Beware then ye harden not your  
hartes agaynst this mercifull lord, and  
tempt hym as the stubburne Iewes dyd,  
whom he therfore deliuered vp into  
their enymies handes, to perishe  
with the swoorde, hunger, and pesti-  
lence: for god wyll not be mocked,  
but lyke a consuming fier will des-  
troye aswell the wicked contemners of  
his worde, as the craftie dissemblers,  
which go abowte to measure god by their  
fantasies:

not consideringe

that they heape damnation against  
them selues in the day of his anger:  
which nowe already is kindled, and  
begynneth to flame,  
to the condemnation of their sowles

totos luctui, ieiunio<sup>1</sup>, & orationi  
dedere, quò tandē aliquando ad Iō-  
minum conuersi, cum illo in gratiam  
citò redeamus. Non est enim noster  
Deus is, qui sanguinis expetēs, sine  
sanguine expleri non possit; sed  
longè secus, peccatoris scilicet  
mortem aegreferens, vitae tantū emen-  
dationem desiderat: vltro se omnibus  
exponens, qui angustiis aliquibus  
afflicti alleuationem cōtra aerumnas  
suas efflagitant. Et quemadmodum  
clemens aliquis pater atque benignus  
omnib. remediis liberorum saluti pros-  
pectum cupit: ita lenissimus pater  
ac Dominus noster, non asperioribus  
illis flagris ad necem caedens, sed  
leni ac paterna manu ad meliorem  
frugem nos inuitans, nullum non phar-  
macum adhibet, quo tandem mali nostri  
vim depellat.

Nollite igitur animos obfirmare  
vestros, néue ad praefractorum Iudae-  
orum exemplum Deum tentate, quos id-  
circo propter non ferendam illam con-  
tumaciam Dominus gladio, fami, pesti,  
tāquam omniū crudelissimis hostibus  
tradidit. Non enim patietur Deus se  
eludi, sed veluti ignis edax ex  
aequo hostes suos, tam  
qui callidè simulāt,  
Deūque ex suo cerebro metiūtur,  
quàm qui prae fractè illius forti-  
tudini resistūt, interimit. Quum  
enim aut non animaduertunt astuti  
homines, Deum minimè placari posse  
huiusmodi portentis, aut potius se  
in ipso meridie caecutire fingunt,  
quid aliud faciunt, quàm aeternas  
poenas sibi cōgerunt in diem irae,  
quae quidem paululum iam accensa  
vires colligere videtur, atque  
latius serpere ad ipsorum omnium

\*\*\*\*\*



## THE PREFACE LETTER

and bodies, who knowinge Iesus  
Christ to haue once fully satisfied  
for our synnes: cease not dayly either  
in hart, mowth, or owtward cōsent to  
blaspheme his precious death,  
ad

(asmoche as in them lyeth) cruci-  
fie him a newe. Do you not remēbre  
that idolaters haue no portion in  
the kīgdome of god, but are thrown  
into the lake of fyer and brymstone,  
where their worme shall neuer dye?  
Can not the examples of gods fear-  
full iudgements moue you, who spared  
not his verie angells when they  
trespassed, but hitherto reserueth  
theym in hell chaynes, to be tor-  
mented in the day of the lorde?  
and wyl he then fauor idolaters,  
dissemblers, blasphemers, mockers,  
contemners? and rather not in this  
lyfe verifie that which the holie  
ghost pronounceth against the child-  
ren of gods wrath, who becawse they  
do not receyue the trueth for their  
saluation, are led by lyes to their  
endles condemnation?<sup>1.</sup>

at the leaste let gods forwarnings  
some what moue you to pitie your owne  
state, who for your instructions,  
suffereth your owne bretherne emongst  
you to die so terribly, some in dis-

interitum, qui cū intelligant Christum  
semel, idque abūdē pro peccatis totius  
mundi satisfecisse, nihilominus aut  
mente, aut lingua, aut gestu, cum iis  
consentiunt, qui saluberrimam eius mor-  
tem non solū violant, sed etiam in  
nihilum redigunt, ipsūque deintegro,  
quātum in illis quidem est, cruci  
affigunt. Adeōne vos fugit idololatrias,  
regnū Dei non adepturos,  
sed in stagnū,  
quod igni & sulphure ardet coniciendos,  
vbi ne vermis eorum quidem sit interiturus?  
An potius seuera Dei iudicia contemnitis,  
qui ne  
Angelis quidem suis, quam commiserant noxam  
remisit, quin eos inferni cathenis con-  
strictos tenet ad magni Dei iudicium?

Quid igitur faciet idololatrias,  
hypocritis, illusoribus, ac contumac-  
ibus hominibus,

qui cū  
veritatem non amplectuntur ad suam ipsorum  
salutem, vanitate ipsa occaecantur vt  
pereant.<sup>1.</sup> At enim quae tanta potest  
esse duritas, quam non horrenda illa  
spectacula, diuinae alioqui irae cer-  
tissima indicia, non commoueant, &  
flectant? qui variis modis, vel intra  
pabietes vestros iudicia sua exercet,  
alii vt ad desperationē redigantur,

\*\*\*\*\*

1. "The prevailing emotion, in the Puritan conception of the Almighty, was awe.... The Puritans had not risen or sunk to that tender French con-  
ception of the Almighty as 'le bon Dieu'. They did not think of God as  
a simple impersonation of the benevolent principle, and easy, placable  
Father of the universe, wearing a smile of eternal indifference to right  
and wrong. God was to them what He was to the Hebrew king, when He said,  
'The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble'; what He was to the rapt pro-  
phet who declared all nations to be to God 'as the small dust of the  
balance'. For these men the unseen was the reality, the seen a fleeting  
shadow. They lived in the presence of the Eternal. 'If we provoke the  
Mediator', said Cromwell once to his parliament, 'He may say, I will  
leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you in  
pieces!'" RAYNE's English Puritanism, its character and history, forming  
the introduction to Puritan Documents relating to the Settlement of  
the Church of England. (Kent & Co., London, 1882) pp. 16-17.

THE PREFACE LETTER

paire, others to kyll theym selues,  
ād many vtteringe moste horrible  
blasphemies euen to their last  
breathe.

The which thinges are so fearfull  
for vs to heare, that we trēble, in  
thinking ther vpon.

yf you wyll therfore be counted in  
the nombre of gods people, and be so  
in deede, loke not backwarde frome  
the plough, returne not to your vomit,  
bowe not your knee to Baal,

pollut not the temple of the  
holie ghost, in presentinge your-  
selues before idolls: <sup>1.</sup> but either  
stand in the trueth, and so rather  
obey God then man:  
or els followe gods callinge  
who hath so mercifully prouyded for  
you: mouinge the hartes of all godlie  
rulers and magistrates,

to pitie your state, and do you good,  
so that  
at Emden, Wesell, Franckford, ād  
in this Citie he hath appointed godlye  
Churches,

whereī you may learne to feare him,  
repent your synnes, amende your lyues,  
and recouer agayne his fauour and  
mercie.

And becawse there is no way more  
ready or sure to come to him, then  
by framyng our selues altogether to  
his blessed wyll, reueiled vnto vs in

nonnulli cruentas manus sibi inferant,  
quidam inter extremos spiritus inau-  
dites blasphemias exhalent:  
vt eò magis vestram, si fortè ita sit,  
indolētiam defleamus, quantò nos prae  
caeteris rebus, quas vel audiuius  
vel legimus vnquam, his rumoribus  
magis perhorrescimus. Quòd si i-  
gitur hoc tantum scelus deprecari  
cupitis, Deique filios & esse & haberi  
vultis:  
videte ne oculos ab aratro auertatis,  
nec ad vomitũ reuertamini,  
aut genua Baali submittatis, neque vos  
ipsos sceleratae Missae, aut simulach-  
ris praestetis, quò tēplum Spiritus  
sancti violetis:  
sed aut  
strenuè veritatem afferite, vt Deo  
potius quàm hominibus obsequamini:  
aut Deum saltem vocantem sequimini,  
qui pro mirifica sua ac prouida  
benignitate, piorum principum & magis-  
tratum animos ac voluntates non solum  
permouit: sed formauit, effecit, ex-  
citauit ad singulare nostrũ omnium  
bonum & commodum: vt iam ferè vno tem-  
pore Emdenae, Wessaliae, Francofurti, &  
in hac praeclarissima ciuitate Ecclesi-  
as erexit & aperuit, quò tanquam viua  
voce Dominus vos inuitat, vt & eius  
cultum, timorem, fidem discentes, ves-  
trámque vicissim oscitantiam, errores  
peruersitatem agnoscentes, illius amorem  
ac beneuolentiam consequamini. Iam verò  
cũ ad hoc institutum nulla ratio aut via  
accomodatior ac expeditior esse potest,  
quàm finis eius voluntati & arbitrio  
permittamus, quatenus eā nobis verbo

1. The 1561 edition is closer to the Latin, and clearer in sense here. It is  
as follows: "...bowe not your knee to Baal, pollut not the temple of the  
Holie Ghost, in presentinge your selues to that most wicked and blas-  
phemous Masse, with such like idells." The Reformers considered the Mass  
itself idolatry as the worship of the creature of bread as God; and this  
was undoubtedly the popular belief in that day, so crudely was the doctrine of  
transubstantiation( ) interpreted. Knox wrote a treatise  
entitled A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Saorifice of the Mass is  
Idolatry, in 1550. LAING: KW. iii. 33sq. Cf. also his disputations  
before Queen Mary of Scotland.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

his worde; we, to whome thogh  
God hath giuen more libertie,  
yet no lesse lamentinge your  
bondage, then reioysinge in our  
owne deliuerance,

frome that Babylonicall slauery and  
Antichristian yooke,  
haue earnestly endeouored emongeste  
other thinges which might bringe vs  
to the woorthy consideration of gods  
woorde, to frame our lyues, and re-  
fourme our state of religion in  
suche sort,

that neither doute of the certeintie  
therof, shuld make vs feare, nor yet  
mans iudgement discourage vs, and  
cause vs to shrinke from this entre-  
prise: moste acceptable to God, com-  
fortable to his church and necessari-  
ly apparteyning to euery christian  
mans duetie.

We, therefore not as the greatest  
clearkes of all, but as the least  
able of many, do presēt vnto you  
which desire the increase of gods  
glorie, and the pure simplicitie of  
his worde, a forme and order of a  
reformed church, lymited within the  
compasse of gods worde,

which our sauour hath left vnto  
vs as onely sufficient

suo patefecit, nostrarum esse partiū  
duximus, in hac libertate (si fortasse  
libertas ea dicēda est, quae propter  
seruitutis vestrae acerbitem, summum  
nobis moerorē affert) aut manumissione  
saltem ac vindicatione, non tantū à  
Babylonico iugo: sed Antichristiano  
illo omnium profligatissimo, rationem  
eiusmodi inire, qua veluti compendio  
vitam & mores, officiāque nostra & ac-  
tiones ad verbi Dei normam rectissimā  
instituere ac cōponere possimus. Adeō  
vt prae caeteris verae religionis max-  
ima nobis cura incubuit, quae cū hu-  
manis corruptelis deturpata, paulō  
antē squallebat, omni studio, cura,  
diligentia eam à situ ad pristinū  
nitorem vindicandum oportere cesuimus;<sup>1</sup>

vt neque nos propter incertudinem &  
dubitationem extimescere, neque propter  
hominū de nobis opiniones, ac iudicia  
deterreri à tam pulchro incepto,  
Deo imprimis grato,  
Ecclesia perutili, & ad omniū officia  
spectanti,  
villo modo debere putauimus.

His de causis hāc formā instituēdi Ec-  
clesiā conscripsim': non tanquā omniū  
doctissimi, aut ad hāc rē maximē apti:  
sed caeteris ¶ plurimis inferiores,  
voluntate tamen aequi: eāq; vobis, qui  
purē Deū ac verbū suū colitis, nō tan-  
quā humano capiti ceruicē equinā: sed  
ē verbo Dei solū modo petitā, intrāque  
eius limites septā, cōmēdamus ac offerim'.  
Nā cum ex hoc solo ppetuā Dei volūtātē  
pcipimus, idēque nobis Seruator noster  
testatū reliquit, vti certissimam atque

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1. The Latin brings out more clearly than the English, and in fuller detail, that the aim of this worship and discipline is to restore the Church to its "pristine splendour". This is emphasised throughout the writings of the Reformers, and the same desire is expressed in Calvin's Preface and in Pullain's Epistola. While their desire was laudable, they set themselves an impossible standard, as e.g. Ninnian Winzet was not slow to point out in his controversy with Knox (Certaine Tractates), when they narrowed their worship to the principle of including nothing that was not specifically authorised by the Scriptures. The earlier Reformers sought to base their worship on the early Church's services; that was sound; but to attempt to have only what is authorised in the NT is to cause the principle of reform to defeat itself. Winzet saw this, and asked annoying questions which could not be answered, e.g. Why do you not celebrate Communion at night instead of in the morning? &c. &c.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

to gouuerne all our actions bye:  
so that what so euer is added to  
this worde by mans deuice,

seme it neuer so good, holy,  
or beautifull,  
yet before our God which is ielous  
and can not admitt any copanyō or  
counsellor, it is euell, wicked,  
and abominable.

For he that is the wisdom  
off the father, the brightenes of his  
glorie, the true light, the woorde  
of lyf yea trueth, and lyf it self,  
cā he gyue vnto his churche (for the  
whiche he payed the raunson of his  
bloode) that which shulde not be a  
sufficient assurance for the same?  
can the woorde of trueth deceyue vs?  
the way of life misgayde vs?

the worde of saluation damne vs?  
God kepe vs from suche blasphemies,  
and so direct our hartes with his  
holy spirit, that we may not onely  
content our selues with his wis-  
dome, but so reioyse in the same,  
that we may abhorre all thinges  
which are contrarye.

The which considerations dere  
bretherne, when we waighed with  
reuerēt feare ād hūblenes:  
ād also knowīg,  
that negligence in reforming that  
religion, which was begone in Eng-  
lande,  
was not the leaste cause of gods  
rodds light vpon vs,

\*\*\*\*\*

absolutissimā regulā, non solū  
religionis tradendae & explicandae:  
sed etiā omniū nostrarū actionum at-  
que rationū: aliquid certe huic addere  
hominis esset pfligati atq; audacis:  
imminuere autē aut detrahere, sumae\*  
esset pfidia. Quisquis igitur alter-  
utrū ppetrat, licet rē valdē honestā,  
piā & praestantem sibi facere videatur:  
Deo tamē, qui zelotes est, nec quēquā  
potest admittere in societate rationū  
suarū, iniusta, impia & detestāda est.  
Nā cogitate apud vosipsos, ac diligēter  
circūspicite, vtrūneis, qui sapiētia  
Patris dicitur, eiusq; gloriae splēdor,  
lux illa vera, ac vitae  
verbū, imō veritas & vita ipsa  
potest id Ecclesiae suae tradere, ppter  
quā non dubitauit mortē cruētissimā  
oppetere, quod nō certissimū rei suae  
gerēdae gnomonē cognosceret?  
potest ne veritas ipsa fallere quenquā?  
an via quae ad vitā ducit, in deuios  
errores abducere?  
aut ipsa sal' nos perdere?  
Deus meliora:  
nostrósque animos Spirit' sui ductu  
regat ac moderetur: vt & sua solius  
sapiētia nobis placeat ac delectet:  
  
& quicquid huic aduersatur, omnibus  
neruis respuam' atq; abominemur.

Quae res,  
cū nos ad diligētiorē rerū nostrarū  
animaduersionē reuocarent, simulque  
penitius, nec sine animi quadā cos-  
ternatuone, nostrique ipsi' abiectiōe  
intueremur pristinā ignauiam in resti-  
tuenda vera religione, quae non minima  
certē, & nescio an alia maior causa  
extitit huius calamitatis, quam Deus

\*summae

## THE PREFACE LETTER

hauiſg now obteyned by the mercifull  
prouidence of our heauēly father  
a free churchē for all our nation  
in this moſte wourthy Citie of Geneua,

we preſented to the iudgement of  
the famous man Iohn Caluin, and  
others learned in theſe parties the  
order which we mynded to vſe in our  
churchē, who  
approving it, as ſufficient for a  
chriſtian congregation, we put the  
ſame in execution: nothing  
douting but

all godly men ſhall be muche  
edified therbye: and as for the  
Papistes, or ~~macilious~~\* men and vn-  
godly, we haue not laboured to ſa-  
tisfie them, becauſe we knewe no  
ſouueraigne medecine for their can-  
kered ſore, except it may pleaſe  
God, by our prayers,  
to be mercifull to theſe, <sup>ad</sup> call theſe  
home, if they be not already  
forſaken.<sup>1</sup> But yet for as muche as  
there are ſūme, which through con-  
tynuaunce in their euell rather  
deliting in cuſtome, then knowlage,

can not ſuffer that men ſhuld once  
open their mouthes againſt certeyne  
olde and receyued ceremonies,  
we thoght good in this place, ſome  
what to touche that ſcrupuloſitie.

influxit, cepimus conſilium, poſtquā  
diuina prouidentia Eccleſiae locus  
nobis cōcedebatur,

vel in hac clariffima totius orbis  
terrarum ciuitate

eā rationem & formā, quam in noſtra  
Eccleſia ſequendā propoſueramus,  
iudicio grauiffimi & doctiffimi viri  
D. Ioan. Caluini, aliorūque ſanctiſſi  
hominū cōmittendi, quā cum libenter  
cōprobauerant,

eā ſtudioſè amplexi ſumus. Nihil in-  
terim dubitantes, imò certò perſuaſi,  
eam rem in bonorum omniū vtilitatē &  
cōmodū ceſſurā. De profligatis autē  
Papistis, ac querulis hominibus eo  
minus<sup>sumus</sup> ſolliciti de ipſorū beneuolentia,  
quòd nullam saltē opportuna antidotū  
contra vulneris ſui purulentiam exco-  
gitare poſſumus: niſi fortè Deo  
viſum ſit noſtras exaudire preces,  
illique parcere, & ad ſui cognitionē  
allicere, quotquot in reprobū ſenſum  
nō tradiderit.<sup>1</sup> Verūtamē in tāta hominū  
varietate, cū aliqui ſint, qui longa  
cōſuetudine obſaecati, ad eā opinionē,  
quā ſibi quiſque delegit,  
quāuis ea plaerunque ſit multis ac magnis  
erroribus, implicata: ita tamen & mente  
& animo adhaereſcunt, vt nec ratio ab  
errore, nec conſtātia veritatis ab  
obſtinatione, pertinaciāque reuocare  
poſſit, eoſque nullo modo ferre poſſūt,  
qui triuiales quaſdā ceremonielas  
cōuellūt,  
cōmodè hoc loco putauiſus huic malo  
ſi non mederi, iuuare tamen & conſilio  
ac diligentia quoad potuiſus prouidere,  
ne ad multorum perniciem vltèrius  
vagetur.

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\*malicious

1. This ſentence is reminiſcent of Pullain's opening ſentence in his letter "Ad lectorem candidum..", in his *Lit. ſac.*, 1554, though Pullain's language is more gentle. The Latin here is more precise in its meaning than the English, and ſhows us what the author of this letter wiſhed to convey.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

For as ceremonies<sup>1.</sup> grounded vpon  
Gods woorde and approued the  
newe Testament, are commendable  
(as the  
circumstance therof doth support)  
so those that man hath inuented,  
thogh he had neuer so good occasion  
ther vnto,  
if they be once abused,  
import a necessitie,  
hinder gods woorde, or be drawn  
into a superstition,  
without respect ought to be abolished.

For if

Ezechias<sup>2.</sup>

was cōmended by the holy ghoste,  
for breaking in pieces the brazen  
serpent, which Moses had erected by  
gods commandement, and now had  
continued aboue 800. yeres,

Primum autē, vt eas ceremonias &  
institutiones, quas nobis verbum Dei  
ex nouo Testamento commendat, eatenus  
comprohamus & admittimus, quatenus  
circumstantiae diuersum minimē suadent:  
ita humana decreta atque inuenta  
omnia, quantumuis illustrem secum  
splendorem, persuasionēque apportent,  
si vel verbi Dei cursum impediānt,  
vel necessitatem inferant, vel in  
abusum aut superstitionem abierint,  
absque omni dubitatione infringi,  
rescindique debent.

Nam si egregia illa virtus ac forti-  
tudo Ezechiae Regis<sup>2.</sup> in eo potissimum  
Spiritus sancti acroama meruit, quēd  
serpētem aeneum comminuerat,  
quem Moses diuino iussu in deserto  
collocans, iam supra octingentos annos  
ad Ezechiae vsque aetatem obtinuerat:

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1. This section following is much reminiscent of PULLAIN's "Ad lectorem candidum pro liturgia admonitio" in his *Lit. sac.* 1554. While there is no verbal agreement, there is a close relationship of thought and content, and it may be regarded as a certain source. I quote below from Pullain:

"Si multas ceremonias laudibiles clamant abolitas, quae tamen videbantur magna niti autoritate vetustissim. patrum: si ordinem et decorum confundi: si dignitatem ministerii prostituti, et contemni dicant (dicunt?), hoc nonnihil est: attamen non ita habet apud nos. Nam quod dignitatem ministerii attinet, sanē nostra memoria constat pompam et luxum, non dignitatem fuisse quicquid isti a nobis rescissam clamant. Cum porro Ministri suum munus probe exequantur, abundē spiritus sanctus dignitatem, laudem, gloriam, et honores omnes conciliabit. Id quod videmus tam multis sanctis viris post Apostolos accidisse, qui sine his pompis Sanctissime rexerunt Ecclesias Christi. Quam enim dignitatem, aut autoritatem maiorem requiris illa, quam Paulus laudat Corinthiis? Ordinem porro confundi et decorum, planē vanum est: quemadmodum calumnia est, quod ceremonias laudabiles et vetustissimas aboleri quiritantur; atque Ecclesiam hanc laesae maiestatis diuinae ream faciunt: Nulla enim ~~vetustatis~~ dignitas, vel patrum autoritas, quae quicquam valeat aduersus Dei autoritatem, vel Ecclesiae aedificationem. Esto itaque multa sit in illis ceremoniis (quas aboleri indignē ferunt) autoritas vetustatis: Attamen siquid ab aliquo excogitatum aut usurpatum sit temerē: non ea debet Ecclesia seruitute premi, vt corrigere nefas sit, aut mutare ac deponere. Quid si etiam stultē aut impiē? nempē, aut absque verbi Dei autoritate et sine vlla aedificatione, aut contra verbum, et voluntatem Dei (id quod etsi non manifesta scriptura, attamen euentu probari potest, qui tam immensum superstitionum pelagus, tam multae et horrendae idolomaniae inde secutae sunt). Cur Ecclesia, vel quorum interest, cessent ea tollere, quae scandalo esse intelligant infirmis? Quicquid a Christo auertit, aut remoratur etiam, id sedulo tollendum est: Praeterea cum non omnia conuenire omnibus temporibus et personibus (personis?) non ignorent, quid piaculi erit patrum etiam sanctissim. instituta mutare, si ita ferant tempora et mores? Sed quid multis opus? Doceant isti omisum aliquid, aut mutatum, aut correctum contra Dei verbum, parata erit Ecclesia illa consilium sequi et obedere. Nam in iis, quae nulla autoritate verbi Dei nituntur, credit summam sibi datam autoritatem tollendi vel retinendi. Tantum ne quid in Ecclesia usurpetur, quod non ad aedificationem, et Ecclesia Christi dignum ordinem pertineat. Nam si quid tale non sit, tollendum omnino est (Cf. RCP "Of Ceremonies": "Worthy to be put away, and clean rejected"), nisi Paulum malē praecepisse fateamur, omnia ad aedificationem, et decoro ordine fieri. Quanto magis si quid ~~successu~~ temporis scandalo esse incipiat tollendum, exemplo Ezechiae, qui non dubitauit serpentem illum tantis miraculis clarum deiicere. An non merito hic haerere bonus princeps debuit, cum serpentem a Deo fieri iussum? cum illius aspectu tanta beneficia consecutos Israelitas meminisset? At doceri populum iussisset. Imò verò non tanti haec fuerunt pio regi, quin occasionem idololatriae telleret ~~maximè~~ è populo. Malum (inquit Apostolus) de medio vestri tollite; et, malum odio persequimini. (—continued next page.)

2. Cf next page for this footnote.

Atque ab superstitione et idolomania illa  
reuocasset: serpentem alicubi asseruari  
tanquam memoraculum diuinae  
bonitatis iussisset.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

which thing of it self was not euell,  
but rather put men in remembrance  
of gods benefit:

yet becawse it began to minister oc-  
casion to the people to comitt ido-  
latrie

was not to be borne withall:

how muche more oght we to take heed,  
that through our occasion men com-  
mitt not idolatrie

with their owne imaginations and  
phantasies? <sup>1.</sup>

It was not

with out great cause commanded

by almyghtye god

that the places, and other apperti-  
nances, which had serued to Idolatrie  
shuld be vtterly consumed,

lest babes and children, through oc-  
casion remembring the same, shuld  
falle into like inconuenience. And  
thinke you that we oght to be wiser?  
and not rather take heede,

that those things which the papistes,  
and other idolaters haue inuented, or  
els obserue as inuented by mā,

quae res sané vsque adeò mala non  
fuit, vt praestantissimum Dei be-  
neficium ob oculos omnibus proponeret,

nihilominus autem quum ad peruersum  
Dei cultum homines permoueret,

optimus Rex ac Dei studiosissimus,  
diutius perpeti nefas esse ducebat:

quanto magis nos omni studio ac di-  
ligentia cauere oportet, ne nobis

authoribus aliis permittatur, non  
solùm serpentes & caeteras animâtes,

sed multo magis insomnia sua colere,  
ac ea quae ne coniectura quidem in-

formare possint? Non fuit certè quidem  
absque summo cōsilio ac prudentia factū,

quod Deus olim veteribus praeceperit,  
vt lucos caeteraque loca, ac omnem mate-

riem, quae idololatriae inseruiret,  
excinderēt, comburerent, deuastarent;

ne scilicet rudis adhuc aetas occasione  
hinc arrepta, ad simile facinus posthac

perduceretur. Quid? an nos Deo sapien-  
tiores esse volumus? an nō potius totius

sapientiae neruos atque artus putare,

humanas inuentiones atque Papistica

phantasmata ab ecclesia eliminare & abi-

gere,

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Footnote 1. continued from previous page.

Iam igitur dabunt hoc, credo, boni viri; tollendum omnino quicquid scandalo esse potest, non dico impijs (vt iam vulgo quidam responsant, se hoc vel illud, in quo scilicet accusantur, facere ne scandalizent quenquam, scilicet mundum), sed pijs infirmis. Quicquid idolomaniae instrumentum est; quicquid denique falsas opiniones gignit et stabilit, tollendum est."

Footnote 2. from previous page.

This reference to Hesechiah was a familiar argument used by the Reformers in this connection. PULLAIN uses it in the quotation above. CALVIN refers to itin his "Que doit faire un homme fidele entre les Papistes?", 1543, (Corp. Ref. XXXIV - Calv. Opera VI - p. 550), where he says, "le serpent d'airain... forgé... par le vouloir de dieu" is not only "un memorial du benefice que dieu auoit faict au peuple d'Israel: mais un sanct Sacrement de Iesus Christ." The same example is given in CRAMNER's Catechism, 1548. (STRYPE: Cramner, ii. 46, iii. 270, notes. Oxford ed. 1854). On the whole of GORDON: Thesis, p. 107.

1. By this is meant the idolatry of the Mass, which they held to be essentially an idolatry of the imagination fostered by a false doctrine.

## THE PREFACE LETTER

may not enter into Christes church  
 as well to thende that the weake  
 may not be confirmed in their  
 error, as that we may altogether  
 separate our selues from that  
 idolatrous Babylon and temple of Be-  
 lial wherwith Christ hath no con-  
 corde nor agreement?<sup>1</sup> Ther was no one  
 ceremonie more auncient, nor yet of  
 better autorite, then the wasshing  
 of the Disciples feet, which was ob-  
 serued alonge time in the church,  
 and institute by Christ him selfe:  
 yet when some wer persuaded,  
 that it was a portion of the lordes  
 suppe, ad others  
 thoght it serued in steade of Baptisme:  
 the godly churches in S. August. tyme,<sup>2</sup>  
 thoght it better to leaue that which  
 was ordeyned for a good vse, the by  
 reteyning the same, cofirme an error,  
 or supstition.<sup>3</sup> The Corinthiās

for the relief of the poore and to in-  
 crease brotherly amytie together  
 dyd institute a feast immediatly after  
 the lordes suppe: but how sharply S.  
 Paul<sup>2</sup> did reprehēde the same,  
 condemnīg in comparaison, that mē shuld  
 adde any thing to the lordes institu-  
 tion, it appeareth by that he saith,  
 I haue receyued of the lorde, that  
 whiche I gaue you.

We reade also that

vt nec debiles ac infirmes nostris  
 obseruatiunculis ad duritiem cōfir-  
 memus: nec omnino manus dem<sup>1</sup> Ba-  
 bylonicae meretrici, sed nos à per-  
 fido Beliale segregemus quicū Christo  
 nulla concordia esse potest.<sup>1</sup>

In tam immenso autem ceremoniarum  
 pelago nulla fuit vel antiquior, vel  
 illustrior quàm pedū lotio,  
 quae primū

à Christo inter discipulos suos in-  
 stituta in multos annos creuerat,  
 donec tandem, orta inter homines con-  
 certatione, dum aliqui tanquam Coenae  
 partem adiectam putarent, alii in  
 Baptismi locum subrogatā contēderent,<sup>2</sup>  
 piaē Ecclesiae Augustini<sup>2</sup> seculo longē  
 tollerabiliorem tantae commoditatis  
 iacturam existimarent, quàm ea  
 retenta erroris turpitudinem  
 alere. Corinthii verò, si in tanta  
 varietate plura exempla commemorare  
 liceat, vt & egenis prospiceretur &  
 amicitia aleretur mutua,  
 statim à Coena Domini conuiuium agere  
 aggressi erant: sed quàm acriter hoc  
 ipsorum institutum reprehendit Apostolus,  
 veluti in totum damnans, vt Domini in-  
 stitutioni aliquid adiiceretur,<sup>2</sup>  
 ex eo satis constat quod Paulus dicat  
 se à Domino accepisse id, quod illis  
 tradiderat. Tanta nimirum est ingeni-  
 orum peruersitas, vt non modò caeteris  
 in rebus luxurient, sed & Sacramenta  
 ipsa mutandi, truncandi, atque illus-  
 trandi facultatem sibi arrogant.

Merito itaque laudātur veteres illi, vt

\*\*\*\*\*

\*demum

1. By this the Reformers did not mean that they were separating themselves from the Church, but rather that they were continuing the true Church by separating themselves from the 'Papists', who by their superstitious, pagan, and immoral practices had abjured the true faith. (For the evils of the Roman Church in that period see HAY FLEMING: Ref. in Scotd., and COULTON's Studies in Mediaevalism, ROBERTSON: Concilia Scotiae, DOUGLAS: Calvin i. r.)
2. The Latin edition always omits the title "Saint" before a saint's name, while the English edition as consistently retains it. Pullain used it sometimes, Calvin always.
3. Marginal note: MChrisost. in 11. cap. 1 Corinth, Tertul. lib. ad uxorem.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

Ezechias and his nepheu Iosias

restored the vse of the Passeouer,<sup>1</sup>  
which had bene a very lōg tyme dis-  
cōtynewed, but in the ministration  
therof, they obserued no other cere-  
monies, thē God had left to Moses frō  
the beginnig.<sup>2</sup> Circūcisiō likewise  
a Sacramet, was euermore after one sort  
ministred euen as the lord cōmāded it.<sup>3</sup>

But such is the nature of fleshe,  
it wilbewise, ād haue a stroke in  
gods doīges, yea and how wilfully  
it causeth man to maynteyne his owne  
phātasies,

it is manifest to thē, which haue per-  
used the aunciet recordes of the  
churche. For begynnīg at Hierusalē,  
ād so cōming to the rest of the churches  
as Constātinople, Antioche,  
Alexandrie, and Rome,<sup>4</sup>  
he shall see playnly, that their  
greatest disturbaunce, and ouerthrowe,  
chanced through ceremonies.

What cōflict<sup>5</sup> was at all tymes betwixt  
the Latine ad Greeke churches for the  
same, no Christian can consider with-  
out teares. And was ther any thinge  
more objected against. S. Paul both of  
the Galatias, and also of the others,<sup>6</sup>

Ezechias ac eius nepos Iosias, quos  
ex sacris Annalibus constat, cū  
pascha ipsum, quod iam ferē obso-  
letum in desuetudinem abierat, po-  
pulo Dei restituerant,  
nō aliis fuisse vsos ceremoniis,  
quā ab initio Moses in eo adminis-  
trādo praeceperat. Circūcisio similiter  
cum esset Sacramentū, eo ritu sēper per-  
agebatur, quo Domin' iusserat.

Sed quid non audeat humana proteruia?  
aut quō non erumpat hominum audacia?  
qui cū se ad caelos attollere audent,  
parum putāt sua deliria mordicus re-  
tinere, nisi diuinis rebus sua inter-  
ponant consilia, quemadmodum optimē  
norunt hi, qui vetera Ecclesiae moni-  
menta animo perlustrarunt.

Nā si ab Hierosolyma exorsi,  
ad reliquas Ecclesias,  
vtpote Constantinopolitanam, Antiochenam,  
Alexandrinam, atque Romanam peruenimus,<sup>4</sup>  
facilē perspiciemus ex nulla re alia  
maiores cladem illas accepisse, quam  
ex ceremoniarum contentione vtrō  
citroque agitata.

Quanta hinc discordia<sup>5</sup> Graeca & Latinam  
vexauit Ecclesiam,  
quis vnquam potuit sine lachrymis  
cōmemorare? & quot' est quisque,  
qui nesciat quantam sibi inuidiam,  
tum apud Galatas, cū etiam apud alios  
ferē omnes consciuerit Paulus,

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1. Marg. note: 2 Chro. 30.a.      4 King. 23.e.      2 Chro. 30 a.

2. Marg. note: Exod. 12.c.      Leu. 23.o.      Deut. 16.a.

3. Marg. note: Gen. 17.b,

4. These were the five great Patriarchates of the early Church. For their  
growth and development, cf. DUCHESNE: Christian Worship, pp. 1-45.

5. The main reference is no doubt to the dispute concerning the date of  
Easter. PULLAIN in his epistle "Ad lectorem candidum" in Lit. sac. 1554,  
refers definitely to it, though in a slightly different connection,  
pleading for diversity in unity, "For", he writes, "commendar... fiden,  
non violat, ceremoniarum externarum in Ecclesiis varietas. Vti non  
minus doctē quam piē docuit Irenaeus in compenda illa tristi discordia  
de die Paschae, quam Satan excitavit inter Asianos Episcopos et Europeas."  
Cf. EUSEBIUS, Church History, v. 24, and GORDON's Thesis, p. 112.

6. Marg. note: Gal. 1.2      Act. 21.d.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

then that he woulde not obserue  
the Ceremonies as the chief Apostles  
dyd? And yet  
he kept them whiles any hope was  
to gayne the weake bretherne,  
and therfore  
circumcised Timothe:<sup>1</sup>

but

when he perceyued that men wolde  
retayne thẽ as necessarie thinges  
in the church,

he called that which before he made  
indifferent, wicked and impious,  
sayg, that who so euer was circum-  
cised Christe coulde nothyng pro-  
fitt them.

fearing also, lest he had  
taken paynes amonges thẽ in vayne,  
which ioyned Christ with beggerly  
ceremonies. Therefore deare bretherne,  
being hereby persuaded,  
and with many moo reasons confirmed  
(which opportunitie permitteth not  
here to writ) we haue contented our  
selues, with that wisdom, whiche we  
haue learned in godes booke,  
where we be taught  
to preache the woorde of God purely,<sup>2</sup>  
minister the Sacramentes sincerely,  
and vse prayers,<sup>3</sup> and other orders

quòd non studiosius, ac summorum  
Apostolorum more ceremonias obser-  
uaret? Atque certè tandiu illas  
vsurpabat, quoad spes aliqua eum  
obtentabat fore: vt infirmos hoc modo  
ad Christum pelliceret: id quod Timo-  
thei exemplũ hoc animo ab eo circu-  
cisi planè euincere necesse est.  
Verũ enimuero cùm hominum malicia  
eò creuerat, vt tanquã necessarias  
in Ecclesia retinendas ceremonias  
contenderẽt, minaciter sese opposuit,  
accerbè interim obiurgans, eosque  
authoritate premès: adeò vt quòd  
paulò antè veluti  $\epsilon\delta\alpha\phi\phi\omicron\nu$  toller-  
auerat, impium iam ac sceleratum esse  
clamitet, planè afferens Christum non  
amplius illis profuturum, quotquot  
Circuncisione vti pergerent.  
Ideoque se vereri æibat, ne frustra  
operam suam in illos collocauerat,  
qui adhuc Christum agenis elementis induerent.  
Quapropter in tam  
certa atque prolixa confirmatione,  
in qua adhuc crescere liceret,  
si opportunitas pateretur,  
aliam sapientiam vendicare, praeterquam  
sacrae literae nos docent, aut vltra  
Dei verbum progredi minimè existima-  
uimus oportere. Ex eo didicimus, ad  
populum conconiari iuxta eiusdem  
verbi praescriptũ: Sacramẽta ad amussim<sup>2</sup>  
celebrare, ac preces habere,<sup>3</sup> vnà cum

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1. Marg. note: Act. 16.a.

2. The Reformers did not neglect the sacraments; rather they sought to adminis-  
ther more Scripturally, and by encouraging Communion monthly, they really  
taught people to communicate more frequently. Nor would they have held with  
the irresponsible and uninformed modern view sometimes brought forward from  
'evangelical' (so-called!) quarters that the sermon stands in place of the  
Eucharist. Cf. essay in STREETER: Concerning Prayer, pp. 321 sq.

3. The Reformers, of course, approved of and used fixed forms of prayer.  
Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset to that effect: "As to what concerns  
a form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites, I highly approve of it that  
there should be a certain form, from which the Ministers be not allowed  
to vary.... There ought to be a stated Catechism, a stated form of prayer,  
and administration of the Sacraments." Calvin, Epist. ad Protector. Angl.  
p. 41. RINGHAM: Works, ii. p. 747, quoted by RAIRD: On Liturgies, p. 23.  
Some of the extremists among the early Puritans objected that "No one ought  
to be confined to set forms of prayer", but even they did not wish to abolish  
set forms, and they were so extreme that they declared that "The Holy Scrip-  
tures ought not to be read in the Churches"! (Zurich Letters, p. 417, cf.  
RAIRD: op. cit. p. 158.) Read prayers were not discountenanced in Scotland  
till the advent of the Brownists, and those sharing their views were  
roundly condemned by covenanting Assemblies, the discountenancing of read  
prayers being specifically condemned more than once. Cf. Sprout: ROC, pp. lix. sq.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

therby approued to the increase  
of godes glorye, and the edifica-  
tion of his holye people.  
As touchinge preaching,  
for asmuche as it is allowed of all  
godly men, we may at this time leaue  
the probation therof: and also for the  
ministration of the two sacramentes,  
our booke geueth sufficiēt pffe\*.

But because prayers

are after two maner of sortes,<sup>1.</sup> that is,  
either in wordes only, or els with  
songe ioyaed ther vnto: and thys  
later part, as well for lack of the  
true vse therof, as due considera-  
tion of the same, is called  
by many into dout,  
whether it may be vsed in a  
reformed church:  
it is expedient, that we note brief-  
ly a fewe thinges perteynīg therunto.

caeteris nonnullis officiis, quae inde  
docemur ad Dei gloriam, atque Ecclesiae  
suae vtilitatem ac commodum pertinere.  
Quod autem ad verbi praedicationē at-  
tinet, quatenus de ea inter pios omnes  
clarissimè conuenit:  
atque etiam  
Sacramenta ipsa,  
cū in libelli huius progressionē satis  
amplam probationē habeant, haud vsq;  
adeo opus esse videtur hoc in loco  
diligentius retractare. Vt tamen preces,  
quas nominauimus. nonnihil attingamus,  
res ipsa admonet. Hae plurimū  
bipartitae sunt:  
nam aut verbis solum constant, aut  
adiecto cantu: atque rursus haec  
pars partim quod descuerit à legitima  
norma, partim verò quod non recto iudi-  
cio animaduertāt homines, aliquot multos  
habeat aduersarios, qui quatenus eo vti,  
an omnino potius liceat vti in Ecclesia  
bene instituta valde animi pendent.

Sed hos oportet in memoriam reuocare,

\*\*\*\*\*

\*proof

1. Much of what follows is drawn directly from Calvin's "Epistre au lecteur" in the various editions of his *La forme*. The following quotation from the earliest (1542) edition, will suffice to show it.

"Quant est des prieres publiques, il y en a deux espaces. Les unes se font par simple parole: les autres auecque chant. Et n'est pas chose inuentee depuis peu de temps. Car des la premiere origine de l'Eglise cela a esté, comme il appert par les histoires. Et mesmes saint Paul ne parle pas seulement de prier de bouche, mais aussi de chanter. Et à la verité, nous connoissons par experience, que le chant a grand force et vigueur d'esmouoir et enflamber le coeur des hommes, pour inuequer et louer Dieu d'un zele plus vehement et ardent. Il y a tousiours à re- garder, que le chant ne soit pas legier et volage: mais ait pois et maiesté, comme dit saint Augustin. Et ainsi il y ait grande difference entre la musioque qu'on fait pour resiouyr les hommes à table et en leur maison: et entre les psalmes, qui se chantent en l'Eglise, en la presence de Dieu et de ses anges. Or quand on voudra droitement iuger de la forme qui est icy esposee: nous esperons qu'on la trouuera saint et pure: veu qu'elle est simplement reiglee à l'edification, dont nous auons parlé." (Corp. ref. XXXIV., pp. 168-169.)

PULLAIN does not refer to it directly, save to point out that it should be in the vernacular.

The use of metrical Psalms, of course, has been adopted universally by all Presbyterian Churches, ~~being~~ carried from Geneva to Scotland. This does not come within the scope of this thesis, but has been admirably dealt with by MACMILLAN in his *Thesis*, and is covered by a multitude of volumes dealing with metrical psalmody. In England the custom of congregational singing of psalms "as was used among the Protestants of Geneva" was borrowed by the Church of England as early as 1559. STRYPE: *Grindal* book 2. chap. 8. *cf also editions of Bible in 1657 & 1795 conforming with BCP at beginning metrical psalms at end.*

At Geneva the Psalms were translated at Calvin's suggestion into metrical French, and set to simple and noble airs by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, the first volume containing a beginning appearing in 1548, and the collection ~~being~~ completed in 1561. *cf also Calvin's Psalter at Strasbourg - this thesis p. 99.*

The important point for us to observe in this connection is that Calvin (and these Reformers who followed him) did not deprive their

(continued on next page)



## THE PREFACE LETTER

S. Paul geuing a rule how men shulde singe, first saith, I will singe in voice, and I will sing with vnderstanding: and in an other place shewing what songes shulde be songe, exherteth the Ephesians to edifie one an other with psalmes, songes of praise, and such as are spirituall, singinge in their heartes to the lord with thankes geuing. As if the holy ghoste wolde saye,

that the songe did inflame the heart to call vpon god, and praise him with a more feruent and lyuely zeale. and as musike or singinge, is naturall vnto vs, and therefore euery man deliteth therein:

so our mercifull god setteth before our eyes, how we may reioyce and singe to the glorie of his name, recreation of our spirites, and profit of our selues. But as ther is no gift of god so precious or excellent, that Satan hath not after a sort drawn to him selfe and corrupt\*:

quod Paulus quodam in loco scribat, Canam, inquiens, voce, sed & mente canam:

Et alio item in loco, quis cantus maximè conueniat significans, Ephesios hortatur vt alius alii profit, colloquētes inter se psalmis, laudatorias ac diuinas cantiones animo canentes, ac gratias agentes Deo. ac si

Spiritus sanctus ore suo nobis attestaretur, huiusmodi vim in cantionibus inesse, vt non solū aures, sed animum multo magis percellant, ac inflamment ad caelestiū reū studium atque armore.

Vtque natura omnib' est ingenitū concētus ac harmoniae desiderium & appetitus, qui mirabiles sui amores in hominum animis excitat, ita Deus optimus ac clementissimus pater, viam nobis quandam & rationem praemonstrat, qua possimus eum laudare,

animos nostros recreare, ac alius aliū iuuare. Sed quae est Satanae malitia, nihil tam excellens est, tāmque praeclarum, quod veterator ille callidus nō lauit:

\*\*\*\*\*

\*corrupted

Note from preceding page continued.

services of a responsive and popular character, as we so often hear from certain quarters. Rather, they deliberately provided parts for the people, and these parts they set into metre to easily sung tunes, so that the people without difficulty could take part. While they abolished the prose responses used before the Reformation, they did so largely because they were set to such elaborate music that only trained singers could sing them. Others they abolished as unscriptural. But their main motive in abolishing them was because they had already dropped out of popular use: not used at Low Mass (the popular service), and taken from them by the elaborate music used at High Mass. (The hours services were then not for the people, but mainly for the 'religious'.) So the Psalms, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, &c., were put into metre and sung to plain tunes, and were thus restored to popular use. The Psalms and Canticles in metre were the responsive part of the Reformed services; they were emphatically counted as a part of the prayers, and embodied sublimely adoration, praise, and thanksgiving. They were not mere punctuations; they were a definite part of the prayers, the peoples' part. This cannot be too much emphasised and insisted upon.

(For this whole subject Cf. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii. 482-486; BAIRD: On Lit. pp. 28-29; SPROTT: ROO, p. lviii.; MACMILLAN: Thesis, pp. 110 sq.; CALVIN: various prefaces to the metrical editions. *In the "Psalms" by the people were not retained, or the words "so be it".*)

Of the 51 Psalms contained in the second part of this book, 37 are Sternheld's, 7 Whittingham's, and 7 Hopkins'. The Psalms chosen have no liturgical significance, but seem just to have been the first translated. Two years later 11 more were added, and the next year another 25; and the first complete metrical psalter was printed in England in 1568, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. *cf. p. 197 of this Thesis.*



THE PREFACE LETTER

so hath he most impudentlye abused this notable gifte of singinge, chieflye by the papistes his ministers in disfiguring it, partly by strange language, that can not edifie: and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyringe men to tickle the eares, and flatter the phantasies,<sup>2</sup>

not esteeming it as a gifte approued by the worde of god, profitable for the churche, and confirmed by all antiquitie.

As, besides other places, it is most manifest by the wordes of Plinius, called the younger, who when he was depute in Asia, vnto the Empereur Traian, and had receyued charge to enquire out of the Christians, to put them to deathe, writ emonges other thinges, touching the Christians, that their maners were to singe verses, or psalmes earely in the morninge to Christ their god.<sup>3</sup> yf any paradventure wolde doute, when, or by whom these churches or assemblies were institute, it is likewise euident, that S.Iohn the Apostle,<sup>4</sup> who,

sic impurissime viciauit castum hoc & eximium Spiritus sancti donum, cum & Papistas, suos videlicet emissarios suggerat, qui psitaci<sup>1</sup> in morem verba non intellecta demurmurent, & infimos quosdam homines mercede conductos ad deliniendas aures emittat.

quare cum nonnulli huiusmodi abusu fascinati non intelligant hoc prestantissimum munus a Deo esse concessum suoque verbo attestatum, Ecclesiae suae commodum, atque priscis monumentis comprobatum, difficili paulo eos quam rei natura patitur, hanc rem ferre minime mirum est. Atque ut caetera omittamus quae ad antiquitatis memoriam confirmandam pertineant vnum illud satis erit, quod de Plinio nepote scriptum legimus. Is enim quum proconsulatum gereret in Asia sub Traiano Imperatore, iamque in mandatis haberet, ut diligenter de Christianis cognosceret, eosque tanquam publicae tranquillitatis perturbatores morte mulcicaret: scripsit inter caetera, quod essent

soliti stato die ante lucem conuenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum inuicem.<sup>3</sup> Quod si nescire se quis simulet quo auctore aut tempore haec facies Ecclesiae esse coeperat: similiter historiae referunt Ioanem illum Apostolum, qui

1. It was the meaningless parrot-like responses too common in the Roman Church *hours' office* of that period, which the Reformers eschewed, and sought to correct. They desired to give the people an intelligible part.

2. Such music, e.g., as that to which the 'Alleluias' were set. PULLAIN in his Epistle "Ad lect. cand." before-quoted, has a reference to the music required in the Reformed Churches. He sets it down that the words must be intelligible and in a comprehensible tongue, then adds, "Eodem pertinet ipse cantus seu modulatio, cui nullus locus esse debet in Ecclesia, nisi ita moderato ut ab omnibus intelligi possit, non enim in Ecclesia iubilandum, sed canendum."

3. Marg. note: Epist. lib. 10. The quotation in the Latin is the actual words of Pliny. The whole letter is to be found in TEUBNER's *Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom.*: C. Plin. Caes. Secundi epist. libri novem (ed. Reil, Leipzig, 1898), p. 281., or in KIRCH: *Enchiridion fontium historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae*, Freiburg in B., Herder, 1910, pp. 18-19.

4. Marg. note: Eccl. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 22.

## THE PREFACE LETTER

althogh in Domitiās tyme he was  
banished in the Ile Pathmos:  
yet when Nerua his successor, and  
next before Traian raigned  
retourned to Ephesus, and so  
planted the churches, as the sto-  
ries reasport. Seinge therfore  
gods woorde dothe appue it, anti-  
quitie beareth witenes therof, ād  
best reformed churches haue

receyued the same:  
no man can reprove it,

except he will cōtemne gods worde,  
despice antiquitie, ād vtterly cō-  
demne the godlie reformed churches.  
And there are no songes more meet,

then the psalmes of the Prophete  
David,<sup>1</sup> which the holy ghost hath  
framed to the same vse, and commed-  
ed to the churche, as conteininge  
the effect of the whole scriptures,  
that hereby our heartes might be  
more lyuelie touched,  
as appereth

by Moses, Ezechias, Iudith, Debora,  
Marie, Zacharie and others,  
who by songes and metre,  
rather then in their cōmune  
speache, and prose, gaue thanks  
to god, for suche comfort as he  
sent them. Here it were to lōge  
to intreate of the metre,  
but for asmuche as the learned  
dout not therof.  
and it is playnly prouen that the  
psalmes are not only metre, and  
cōteyne iuste Cesures: but also

licet regnante Domitiano in Patmo  
insula exulabat:  
Nerua tamen imperium tenente, qui  
secundus ab illo, & ante Traianum proxi-  
mus fuit, reuocatus Ephesum concessit,  
Ecclesiāsque instituit.

Cū ergo verbum Dei cantum nobis  
cōmendat antiquitāsque confirmet,  
&

Ecclesiae ferè omnes bene institutae  
ad pristinam dignitatem illum vindi-  
carint, ac libenter retineant: certè  
hunc vsum improbare ac reiicere,

hominis esset leuiculi & theomachi,  
quatenus nec Dei verbo fidem adhibet,  
nec vetustatem veneratur, nec perpe-  
tuo Ecclesiae exemplo mouetur.

Cuiusmodi autem cantiones esse debeant,  
nemo est qui non luculenter intelli-  
gat, modò secum ipse paululum pēsitet  
vim illam & suadelam, quam Spiritus  
sanctus Daudicis Psalmis inesse voluit,  
quos idcirco carmine cōplexus videature,  
vt & compendium totius Scripturae Ec-  
clesiae cōmendaret,

& hoc modo animus imprimis permoueretur  
ad agendas gratias. ad quam rem prae-  
standam citra omnem controuersiam

Psalmi mirificam vim habent: quemadmodū  
ex Mose, Ezechia, Iudith, Debora, Maria,  
Zacharia & aliis non paucis constat,  
qui carmine potius & numero orationes  
suas gratulatorias, quàm vulgato  
sermone, aut oratione soluta constrinx-  
erunt.

De metri fortasse variis generibus si  
hoc loco dicere vellemus, nimium ex-  
cresceret oratio: atque docti ad quae  
praecipuè haec ratio iudicii spectat,  
non possunt non intelligere, psalmos  
non solum metro quodam ac iustis ce-  
suris ligari, sed

\*\*\*\*\*

1. Calvin would admit only Psalms of David and Scriptural Canticles, but not original hymns. Cf. his introduction to Marot's versions. On whole ques-  
tion of metrical psalmody cf. G. WAUCHOPE STEWART: MUSIC in Church Worship  
pp. 106 sq., also MILLAR PATRICK: Story of the Church's Song, pp. 88-118.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

haue grace and maiestie in the  
verse more then any other places  
of the scriptures, we nede not to  
enter into any probation, For they  
that are skilfull in the hebrew toun-  
gue by comparinge the psalmes with  
the reste of the scriptures easelie  
may perceyue the metre. and to  
whome is it not knowen, how the holy  
ghoste by all meanes soght to helpe  
our memorie,

when he facioned many psalmes accor-  
dīge to the lettres of the Alphabet:  
so that euery verse begīneth with  
the lettres therof in ordre? sometimes.  
A. beginneth the halfe verse, ād E.  
the other halfe:

and in an other place thre verses,  
yea and eight verses with one lettre,  
euen the psalme  
throughout: as if all men shulde be  
inflamed with the loue therof,  
both for varietie of matter, ād also  
briefenes, easines,  
ād delectation.

Nowe to make you priuie also, why we  
altered the ryme in certeyne places,  
of hym whome for the gyftes that God  
hath geuyn him we estemed and reueren-  
ced, thys may suffice: that in this  
our ẽtreprise, we did onely set God  
before our eyes and therfore wayed the  
wordes and sense of the Prophete: ra-  
ther cosideringe the meanyng therof,  
then what any man had wrytt. and chief-  
ly beinge in this place where as moste  
perfite and godly iudgement dyd assure  
vs, ād exhortatiōs to the same encorage  
vs, we thoght it better to frame the  
ryme to the Hebrew sense, thẽ to bynde  
that sense to the Englishe meter and  
so either altered for the better in  
suche places as he had not attayned

splendorẽ quendam ac dignitatem  
prae aliis sacrae Scripturae libris  
cōtinere,  
quemadmodum  
Hebraicẽ qui periti sũt ex collatione  
facilẽ indicare poterunt,

vt illud interim nō praetereamus  
Spiritus sanctum omnibus modis laborasse,  
quòtandem optimam rationem iuuandae  
memoriae inueniret. quod nemò certè  
diffitebitur, cum videat aliquos  
psalmos ad Alphabeti ordinem componi,  
ita vt singuli versus singulas imiten-  
tur literas, quandoque etian prima  
versus pars ab A. exorsa reliquam B.  
absoluit, ita vt duabus literis in-  
teger versus perficiatur: nonnunquam  
etiam vna litera tres versus continet:  
ac interdum octo continui vnus literae  
ambitu comprehendũtur, quoad totus  
Psalm' exeat: vt meritò sciamus Spiri-  
tum sanctum optimum doctorem esse,  
qui varietate excitare,  
breuitate allicere, facilitate permouere,  
delectatione recreare torpentes audi-  
tores nouit.

\*\*\*\*\*

## THE PREFACE LETTER

vnto, or els where he had escaped  
parte of the verse, or some tymes  
the whole, we added the same: not  
as men desyrours to find fautes, but  
onely as such which coueete to hyde  
theym, as the learned can iudge.<sup>1</sup>

It remayneth last of all that you un-  
derstande the reasons which mouede vs  
te chuse owte and followe this Cate-  
chisme of Geneua rather then any  
other, for consyderinge that the  
true vse of a Catechisme is

to instruct a christian fully in all  
pointes of belief, and christian re-  
ligion, and wherein this is moste  
easely, order,ly\*, and perfitely  
taught, that to be the best: we coulde  
fynde none in so great a nombre  
which either for the facilitie is  
equall, or els for the perfectiõ to  
be compared.

Moreouer the daungers which hang ouer  
Christes Church in these daies moued  
vs verie muche: for as men  
may see present signes of a certaine  
barbarousnes, and puddells of errors  
whiche are lyke to chaũce in the  
chur,che\*\* of god: so there is no  
better preservation against the same,

Extremũ est, vt intelligatur,  
quae ratio nos potissimum induxit,  
vt hanc Geneuensis Ecclesiae catechismum  
potius quàm alium quenuis in tãta varie-  
tate sequendum seligeremus: quod vt  
melius praestemus, scire valde interest  
catechismi vsum esse eiusmodi,  
vt virũ Christianũ perfectè doceat  
summa religionis capita, quae cum  
nusquam apud alios aequè reperiatur,  
siue docendi rationem & perspicuitatem  
spectes, siue rerum copiam ac vber-  
tatem, siue denique omnibus numeris  
absolutam rectae religionis epitomen,  
hunc vnum absque omni dubitatione, tan-  
quam optimum ducem ad perfectam reli-  
gionem sequi omnes cõsensimus, quid?  
quòd pericula, quae postremis hisce  
tẽporibus immineat, non parũ nos ad  
hoc excitare debeant. Nam vt certis-  
sima auguria ingruentis cuiusdam vas-  
titatis ac barbariei cernamus, errorũ-  
que, qui paulatim se in Ecclesiam in-  
gurgitare videantur: ita nulla salubri-  
or ad haec mala antidotus reperiri potest,

\*\*\*\*\*

\*orderly {comma a misprint}  
\*\*churche { " " " }

1. The Calvinistic Reformers were specially concerned in all things to be faithful to the Scriptures, and they were not content with using a poetic form as in the original, but they desired also to be scrupulously true to the sense of the Hebrew. In the RCP the Psalms and canticles were not translated from the original text, but from the Vulgate, and are thus removed by several intermediary versions and translations from the OT Hebrew. (FRIGHTMAN: English Rite, vol. i., p. lxxxi.) The result is that on the whole the RCP version of the Psalms is more suitable for Christian worship, having been modified a series of times in a Christian direction, while the metrical version is truer to the original. (Cf. DEARMER: The Art of Worship, section dealing with Psalmody).

This paragraph is omitted in the Latin translation because the metrical Psalms were not subjoined to that volume, and also because those for whom the Latin was written would be in no position to judge of the excellency or otherwise of an English metrical Psalter.



## THE PREFACE LETTER

then if all godly churches wolde  
agre in one kinde of doctrine and  
confession of faith,

which in all points were agreable  
to gods holy worde: that our pos-  
teritie might be confirmed, by the  
vniuersall example of Christes  
Churches .

against all hereses, persecutions  
and other daungers:

perceuinge that it is not onely  
the doctrine of one man, but the  
consent of the whole christian  
church, and that wherein all yowthe  
hathe bene broght vp and trayned in.  
The which thinge seinge none hath so  
farre performed, nor yet in such  
towardnes to the same as this Ca-  
techisme is,

being for the worthines therof al-  
ready translated into Hebrue,<sup>1</sup>  
Greeke, Latin, frenche, Italian,  
Spaynishe, Dutch,<sup>2</sup> and Englishe,  
we cowlde do no lesse, but gladly  
and willingly embrace the same.

Wherefore

we beinge nowe vnder the same  
crosse of affliction that you owr  
deare brethern are, and yet alto-  
gether the childrẽ of God our mer-  
cifull father through Iesus Christ,  
desir you, in his name,

quam vt omnes vndique Ecclesiae  
certam quandam doctrinam, ac fidei  
formam diuino instituto omnino con-  
sentientem describerent ac sequerentur:

cuius rei fama & cognitio ad posteri-  
tatem nostram perueniens, ipsa quasi  
catholicae ac orthodoxae Ecclesiae  
exemplo cõfirmaretur, vel in tyrocinio  
ipso contra omnes haereses, persecutiones,  
ac pericula, quae homines saepe vel ad  
malum pelliciunt, vel à bono deterrēt.

Ad hanc autem rem praestandã hic noster  
Catechismus, reliquis à tergo relictis,  
plusquam medium iter confecit. Nam cum  
sapientissimi viri dignum eum censerunt,  
qui Haebraicè,  
Graecè, Latinè, Gallicè, Italicè,  
Hispanicè, Germanicè,<sup>2</sup> atque Anglicè tradu-  
ceretur,<sup>1</sup>

nos nec potuimus absque cõtumelia istũ  
postponere, nec alium absque arrogantia  
conscribere. Quapropter vt tandem oratio  
nostra ad exitium deducatur, à vobis  
petimus fratres, vel potius precibus  
omnibus contendimus, pérque communes  
nostrae calamitates,

quae vtrique nostrũ propter scelera  
in Deum ac Patrem nostrum infliguntur,

oramus ac obtestamur,

\*\*\*\*\*

1. There are copies of these translations of Calvin's Catechisme (and La forme)  
in the Britian Museum, save the one into Hebrew.

2. As the Latin shows, this word refers to German or "high Dutch". Cf. LAING:  
KW, iv., p. 168.

## THE PREFACE LETTER

with iudgement to reade our doings,  
tryinge theym onely by the towche-  
stone of his worde,

that either if they be founde faw-  
tie, they may be reiected, or else  
if they be profitable, god may be  
glorifiede, his church edified,  
and the malicious confounded.

Fare wel deare bretherne, and let vs  
all pray to our louinge god, that  
he wold be mercifull vnto vs,  
restore his holy woorde, comfort and  
strengthen his children, and final-  
ly confounde Satan, Antichrist, and  
all his enymies.

At Geneua. the. 10. of february.  
Anno. 1556.

nostros vt labores ac conatus iudicio  
ac aequitate primum coanoscat: deinde  
eos ad normam verbi Dei applicetis,  
& tanquam ad lyceum lapidem exploretis:  
vt aut iudicio piorum hominum meritam  
reprehensionem sustineant: vel si  
profuturi videantur, vna Deū glorifi-  
cemus, Ecclesiam adiuvemus, & improbis  
ac maleuolis os tandem obstruamus.  
Valete fratres optimi, ac communibus  
votis Deum precemur, vt  
nostris peccatis tandem ignoscens,  
Euangelii sui lucem renocet, miseros  
suos ac aerumnosos liberos recreet,  
ac satanae tandem, Antichristi, &  
hostium omnium vires debilitet ac fran-  
gat. Geneuae, Id. Februarii, Anno mil-  
lesimo quingētesimo quinquagesimo sexto.

\*\*\*\*\*

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THE CONFESSION OF OVR FAITHE, WHICH  
ARE ASSEMBLED IN THE ENGLISH  
CÖGREGATION AT GENEVA.

\*\*\*\*\*

CONFESSIO CHRISTIANAE FIDEI.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

The 'Confession of faith' is an exposition of the Apostles' Creed (which is written in the margin as the exposition proceeds) under four heads, dealing respectively with the doctrine of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the Church.

This fourfold division is no doubt derived from Calvin's Catechism (1537, 1st ed.), or from Calvin's exposition of the Creed in the Baptismal Service in his La Forme of 1545. A similar fourfold division was employed by Pullain in his later editions of the Liturgia sacra, those of 1552 (French) and of 1554 (Latin).

Indeed, the matter in Calvin, Pullain, and the English book is so similar, that there can be little question of the dependence of the last two named upon the first.<sup>1</sup> While Calvin's exposition is much shorter than the English, and Pullain's much longer, the relationship is nevertheless to be clearly traced. This will be seen from the footnotes, where the main points of contact are demonstrated by quotations, and Calvin's short baptismal exposition is given in full.

That this Confession in its turn influenced the Confession of Faith adopted by the three Estates in Scotland in 1560<sup>2</sup> is also evident. The latter is nothing more than a polemical enlargement of the Confession here edited. The Confession of 1560 was drawn up by Knox, and is more vivid and unrestrained

\*\*\*\*\*

1. GORDON: Thesis, p. 128, note 2.

2. CALDERWOOD: Hist. Ch. of Scotd. ii. 15sq.



## INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

in its language, but the relationship between the two is clear; and this is to be expected, since Knox was one of those who framed the Confession here set forth, while also he had used it for some years while Minister in Geneva.

In England, until 1676, and even later, this Confession of Faith was often bound with the BCP, no doubt for use among the Puritans.<sup>1.</sup> The theology of the Confession, it is hardly necessary to add, is strongly Calvinistic.

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1. SPROTT: BCO, p. 199. PARKER SOC. Liturgical Services, Queen Elizabeth, Preface xx. *is the use of the less extreme Puritans, that is,*

## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

THE CONFESSION OF OVR  
FAITH, WHICH ARE AS-  
SEMBLED IN THE ENG-  
LISHE CÖGREGATION AT  
GENEVA.

CONFESSIO CHRISTIANAE  
FIDEI.

I BELEVE<sup>2</sup>, and cōfesse  
my lorde God\*  
eternal, infinite, vnmeasurable,  
incomprehensible, and inuisible.  
one in substāce,  
three in persone,  
father sonne, and holy ghoste,  
who by his almightie power and wisdom,  
hathe not onely of nothings created  
heauen, earthe, and all thinges therein  
cōteyned, and man after his owne  
image, that he might in hym be glo-  
rifiede:  
but also by his fatherlye prouidēce,  
gouerneth, maynteyneth, and preserueth  
the same, accordinge to the purpose of  
his will.

PLENA fiducia credo ac profiteor  
Dominum ac Deū meū, sine omni principio  
ac fine, intermitatū, infinitū, inex-  
plicabilē, immēsum, ac incōspicuae maies-  
tatis, re quidem ipsa ac substantia vnicum,  
triplici verò personarum distinctione  
discretū, Patris, Filii, & Spiritus sancti:  
qui nō solū stupendo ac omnipotēti nutu  
caelū ac terram, quēq; in iis clauduntur  
vniuersa ex nihilo,  
hominēq; tandē ipsū sui gratia ad ip-  
sius imaginē pduxit:  
verūetiam eadē nūc producta, pari rursus  
verēq; paterna prouidentia administrat,  
dispēsāt, actuetur,  
p diuinae volūtatis suae imperio.

I BELEVE<sup>3</sup> also and cōfesse Iesus  
Christe\*\* the onely sauour and  
Messias, who  
beinge equall with God, made him self  
of no reputation, but tooke on him the  
shape of a seruant, and became man

Itidē credo ac profiteor Iesum  
Christū, omniū Seruatorē ac assertorē  
vniciū, & Messiam nostrū. Qui cū in  
forma esset Dei, non rapinam duxit  
āequalem se esse Deo: at sese  
exinaniuit, ~~sumpta~~que serui conditione,  
homo hominum causa factus,

\*\*\*\*\*

\*Margin: "I beleue in god the father almightie, maker of heauen and earth"

\*\*Margin: "And in Iesus Christe his onely sonne, our lorde."

1. In the English edition this Confession of Faith occupies 8 pages (pp.33-41), and the same number in the Latin(pp.19-27); in the latter the type is smaller, and the Apostles' Creed is omitted from the margin.
2. The expansion of this article in the Baptismal Service of CALVIN's La Forme of 1545 (Strasbourg) is as follows:  
"Dont le sens est tel: Que nous protestons d'auoir un seul Dieu lequel nous adorerons: auquel nous rendons toute louange et gloire, lequel seul nous inu- quons en toute noz necessitez et auquel nous rendons action de grace de tous les biens qui nous viennent. En apres qu'en seulle essence divine, nous recognoissons le Pere, Le Fils et le saint Esprit."
3. CALVIN's expansion of the second article is as follows:  
"Parcillement que nous receuons pour certaine verité l'histoire qui est escripte en L'evangile touchant la Conception, Nativité, Mort, Resurrection et Ascension de Iesus Christ: Et qu'il faut attendre une fois, Iuge de tout le monde: et pour ce que tout ce qu'il a fait et souffert pour nous, ne doit pas estre vain ne inutile, il convient que nous tenions la somme et toutes les parties de nostre salut situées en ces choses qui sont icy referées."



## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

in all thinges like vnto vs  
(synne except) to  
assure vs of mercie and forgiuenes.

For whē through our father Adams  
transgression we were become chil-  
drene of perdition,  
there was no meanes to bring vs from  
that yoke of synne and damnatio, but  
onely Iesus Christe our lord: who  
giuinge vs that by grace, which was  
his by nature, made vs  
(through faith) the childrene of God,  
who whē  
the fulnes of the tyme was come, was  
cōceyued by the power of the holy  
ghoste, borne of the virgine Marie\*  
(accordinge to the fleshe) and preached  
in earthe the gospel of saluatiō,

tyll at length by the tyrānye of the  
priestes, he was gilteles codemned  
vnder Pōtius Pilate, thē presidēt of  
Iurie, ād moste slaunderously hanged  
on the crosse betwixte two theues as  
a notorious trespasser\*\*  
where takinge vpō hym the pynishment  
of our synnes, he delyuered vs frome  
the curse of the lawe. And forasmuche  
as he, beinge onely God,  
could not feeble deathe, nether being  
onely man could ouercome deathe,  
he ioyned both to gether, and suffred  
his humanitie to be punished with  
moste cruell death:

feling in him selfe

the anger and seuerie iudgement of God,  
euen as if he had been in the extreme  
termētes of hell,\*\* and therefore

nostrique per omnia (extra duntaxat  
pecatū), similis effectus est, quo  
nos ad sublimitatem suam, ac diuinæ  
misericordiae felicitatē, alioqui  
perditos postliminii iure vindicaret.  
Postquam enim laethali illo Adamicae  
transgressionis malo, omnes simul mi-  
serabiliter ad interitum corrueramus,  
nulla erat amplius salutis recuperādae  
spes, **praeterquā** in vnico  
hoc Christo Iesu Domino nostro,  
nobis id gratia impartiens, quod  
natura sui erat ipsi ppriū, dedit,  
vt fide Filii Dei per eū efficeremur  
**credētes** in nomen eius. Itaq; emēsa  
tēporis plenitudine,  
conceptus ē Spiritu sancto,  
atque ex virgine Maria

**secundū** carnē, natus est, salutiferum  
vitae Euangeliū passim per vniuersos  
Hierosolymorum fines depraedicans,  
donec inuidia tandem tyrannidēque  
sacerdotū oppressus innocens  
(prēsidente iudice Pontio Pilato)  
crucis probrosissima morte inter  
duos latrones medi<sup>9</sup> ipsemet, veluti  
latro, occubuit, verēq; mortuus est.  
Quo in patibulo dependens ille pro  
flagitiis nostris, hac ratione nos à  
Legis maledicto immunes reddidit. Idē-  
que porrò, quia nec à morte, quatenus  
Deus, vinci: nec eā rursus,  
quatenus homo, vincere potuit: prop-  
terea vtramque ita coniunxit naturam,  
vt dum illa vinceret, hac se superari  
pateretur, sentiens interim, in humana  
hac sua parte, flagrantem Patris iram,  
adeoque infernales veluti cruciatus,  
vt

\*\*\*\*\*

\*Margin: "Which was conceyued by the holie ghost, borne of the virgine Marie,"

\*\*Margin: "Suffered vnder Potius Pilate, was crucifiede, deade, and buried."

\*\*\*Margin: "He disceded into hell."

## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

cryed with a lowde voice,

My God, my God, why haste thou forsaken me? Thus of his fre mercie without compulsion, he offred vp him selfe as the onely sacrifice to purge the synnes of all the world, so that all other sacrifices for synne

are blasphemous and derogate frome the sufficiencie<sup>1</sup> herof.

The which death, albeit it did sufficiently reconcile vs to God, yet the scriptures comonly do attribute our regeneratiō to hys resurrection:

for as by rysinge agayn frome the graue the third day\*, he conquered deathe: euen so the victorie of our faith standeth in his resurrection, and therfore without the one, we can not fele the benefite of the other. For as by death synne was taken awaye, so our rightuensnes was restored by his resurrectiō.

And because he wolde accomlishe all thinges,

and take possession for vs in his kingdome,

he ascended into heauen\*\*

to enlarge that same kingdome by the abundant power of his spirite:

by whome we are moste assured of his contynuall intercession towardes God the father for vs. And althoghe he be in heauen as towchinge his corporal presence, where the father hathe nowe set him on his right hande,\*\*\*

Nam moribundus intentissima voce in hanc erūpere exclamatiōē auditus sit, Deus mi, ō mi Deus, cur me destitutū deserueris? Sic ergo gratuitae illius munificentiae visum est, se totū expiandis totius mūdi peccatis, velut hostiā purissimā, ac sacrificiū vnicū deuouere: vt nihil iam loci reliquis sacrificiis relictū sit, quae quisquā pro peccatis amplius offerat: cū abundē hoc vnū pro omnibus sufficere & possit & debeat. Nec quisquā tam contumeliosē blasphemus sit, qui commiscēdis aliis quibuscūque sacrificiis huius dignitati tātae audeat derogare.<sup>1</sup> licetq; porrō mors haec illius abūdē diuinae placandae iusticiae fecerit satis: sacrae tamē literae vt plurimū, regenerationis nostrae beneficiū, resurrectioni magis illi quā morti acceptū referūt. Nam vt resurrectionis triūpho post triduanā mortē mortis abolita est tyrānis: ita hac ipsa resurrectione fidei nostrae firmitas ac victoria potissimū nititur. Vnde cōiūctae hę res melius ambae peruidētur, quā seorsim alterutrae. Vt enim morte fractas peccati vires, ita resurrectione illius collatā nobis iustitiā accipimus.

Porrō insuper ne quid ad absoluendū salutis nostrae negotiū relinqueret, non omnibus numeris absolutū, nostrōque nomine caelestē hereditatem adiret, post quadraginta dies in caelum sublimis receptus est: vt regnū suum per diuinam Spiritus sui potentiam amplificaret: vbi etiamnum ad dexteram sui Patris collocatus confidet, vsque interpellans pro peccatis nostris: sic tamē vt licet corpore absit, certo loco circumscriptus dexter suo Patri,

\*Margin: "The third daie he rose againe frome deathe."

\*\*Margin: "He ascended into heauen"

\*\*\*Margin: "And sitteth at the right hand of God the father almyghtie"

1. This, it is hardly necessary to say, is directed against the Mass which then as now was commonly known as "the sacrifice of the Mass", and concerning which many crude and unsriptural doctrines were promulgated.



## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

committinge vnto him the adminis-  
tratiō of all thinges, aswel in  
heauē aboue, as in the earthe benethe,  
yet

is he present with vs his membres,  
euen to the ende of the world,  
in preseruinge and gouernynge vs  
with his effectuall power and grace,  
who (whē all thinges are fulfilled  
which God hath spoken by the mowth  
of all hys prophetes since the  
world began) wyll come in the same  
visible forme in the which he ascēded;  
with an vnspekable Maiestie, power,  
and companye  
to separate the lambes frome the  
goates: thelecte frome the reprobate.

So that none, whether he be alyue  
thē or deade before, shall escape  
his iudgement.\*\*

MOREOVER I beleue, and confesse  
the hely ghoste<sup>1.</sup>\*\*\*  
God equall with the father and the  
sonne,  
whoe regenerateth and sanctifieth vs,  
ruleth and guideth vs into all trueth,  
persuadinge moste assuredly in our  
consciencs, that we be childrene of  
God, bretherne to Iesus Christe,  
and fellowe heires with him of lyfe  
euerlastinge. Yet notwithstandinge  
it is not sufficiēt to beleue that  
God is omnipotent, and mercifull:  
that Christ hath made satisfaction:

vbique regens ac administrans in  
caelo ac in terra omnia:

Spiritu tamen ac efficaci numinis  
energia nusquā non adest,  
semperque ad futurum mēbris suis,  
vsque ad consummationem saeculi,  
arcano Spiritus sui vigore, ac gratia  
nos fouens ac suffulciens.  
Quin et idem rursus, vbi iam cuncta  
paracta sint, quae Prophetarum  
vaticinia prodiderunt,  
eodē corpore rediturus est,

conspicua maiestate:  
vt iudicium de viuis pariter ac mortuis  
ferat, agnōsque electitios ab haedis  
discludat:

cuius ineuitabilem sentētiam, haud  
quisquam effugere tum viuorum, tū  
mortuorum poterit.

Credo itidem et profiteor Spiritum  
sanctum, vna cum Patre ac Filio in  
eiusdē diuinitatis substantia aequalem,  
qui tacito afflatu sese transfudens per  
animos nostros, nos regenerat, sanctificat,  
moderatur, ac in omnem veritatem ductat,  
indubitata fiducia conscientias nostras  
perfundens, quōd filii Dei sumus,  
fratres Iesu Christi,  
ac eiusdem secū regni ac immortalitatis  
cōsortes. Verū enimvero neque id  
satis adhuc videbitur, vt Deū agnoscamus  
omnipotentem & propitium,  
aut Christum nostro nomine exluisse,

\*\*\*\*\*

\*Margin: "Frome thense shall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead."

\*\*Margin: The above extends down the margin to this point.

\*\*\*Margin: "I beleue in the helie ghoste."

1. CALVIN's expansion here is as follows:

"Item que par la grace et vertu du saint Esprit, nous sommes faits  
participans de Iesus Christ et de tous ses biens."

# THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

or that the holy gheste hath this power and effect: except we do applie the same benefites to our selues which are Gods elect. I beleue therefore and cōfesse one holye church<sup>1</sup>,

which (as membres of Iesus Christ thonly heade therof) cōset in faithe, hope, and charitie, vsinge the giftes of God: whether they be temporall or spiri- tuall, to the profit and further- ance of the same:

Whiche church

is not sene to mans eye, but onely knowen to God, who of the leste sonnes of Adā, hath ordey- ned some as vessels of his wrathe, to damnation:<sup>2</sup> and hath chosen others, as vessels of his mercie, to be saued: the whiche also in due tyme, he calleth to integritie of lyfe, and gedly conuersation, to make them a glorious church to him selfe.

But that church which is visible, and sene to the eye,

aut Spiritus eam esse sanctificatricem vim, nisi eadem haec peculiariter nos- trum in se quisque accomodet, quotquot electi sumus Dei. Credenda itaque ac confitēda est, vna sancta Ecclesia, cōmunis videlicet, ac vndique diffusa piorum fidelium aggregatio: qui velut singula membra eiusdem capitis Iesu Christi, eadem pariter inter se cōsensione fidei, spei & charitatis coniunguntur ac coalescunt, singulis interim sua dona, quicquid à Deo boni siue corporei ceu spiritualis acceperunt, in eiusdē Ec- clesiae cōmodum ac aedificationem con- uenientibus. Hecque Ecclesia, quae catholica ac electorum dicitur, nulla humana perceptione, aut oculis designari poterit. Soli Deo cognita est, qui ex perdita Adami posteritate aliquos tan- quā vasa irae ad interitū parauit: selegit autē alios, vt essent vasa misericordiae ad salutem destinata, quos vitae etiam sancti- monia (suo cuiusque tempore) exornat, vt Ecclesiam sibi gloriosam adoptet. Huius verò, quae sensibilis est Ecclesia, captui ac oculis hominū exposita,

\*Margin: "The holie catholike churche, the communion of sainetes"

## 1. CALVIN's expansion of the Creed has this:

"Et pour ceste cause nous adieustons, que nous croyons la sainete Eglise: car Dieu nous regenere de son Esprit et son Eglise par le Ministere de sa Parolle et de ses Sacremens."

It is again important to observe that the Reformers insisted and maintained that they were continuing the Catholic Church; statements to that effect are to be found in all the Reformed Confessions — never for one moment did they contemplate founding another Church. They were continuing the one, holy, catholic, apostolic Church. Book iv of Calvin's Institutes is concerned almost wholly with this matter, and all the other Calvinistic Reformers followed him in it. The First Scots Confession (1560) states: "As we beleue in ane God, Father, Sonne, and haly Ghaist: sa do we maist constantly beleue, that from the beginning there hes bene, and now is, and to the end of the world sall be, ane Kirk, that is to say, ane com- pany and multitude of men chosen of God...." (Art. xvi). The Second Helvetic Confession has this: "There is but one Church, which we therefore call CATHOLIC because it is universal, spread abroad through all the parts and quarters of the world, and reaches unto all times, and is not limited within the compass either of time or place." (Art. xvii). The Westminster Confession of Faith is equally clear: "The cathelick or universal church, which is in- visible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ the head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." Cf. also WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK's A Manual of Church Doctrine, for summary of the doctrine of the Reformed Church in this connection.

## 2. This was an unfortunate doctrine, but was the inescapable result of attempt- ing to fit the Christian faith into a purely logical scheme. The Reformed Churches of today have repudiated this doctrine, except in a few unusual cases, e.g. the Presbyterian Church of Canada (continuing) — cf. Writ for injunction 1917 in Supreme Court of Ontario, 1924.

Furthermost part, at least in the English speaking world,



# THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

hathe three tokens, or markes,  
 wherby it may be discerned.<sup>1</sup> First  
 the worde of God cōteyned in the olde  
 ād newe testament, which as it is  
 aboue the autoritie of the same church, vt grauior ac antiquior Ecclesia ipsa,  
 and onely sufficient to instruct vs in  
 all thinges, concernynge saluation:  
 so it is left for all degrees of men,  
 to reade, and vnderstand. For with-  
 out this worde, neither church, con-  
 cile, or decree, can establishe any  
 point, touching saluation.

The seconde is  
 the holy sacraments, to witt, of Bap-  
 tisme, and the Lordes Supper:  
 which sacramentes Christ hath left  
 vnto vs, as holie signes, and seales  
 of Gods promesses.

For as by Baptisme, once receyued,  
 is signified that we (aswel infants,  
 as others of age and discretion)  
 being straungers frō God, by origi-  
 nall synne, are receyued in to his  
 familie and congregation,  
 with full assurance, that althoghe  
 this roote of synne lye hyd in vs:  
 yet to the electe it shal not be impu-  
 ted. So the supper declareth,

tres sunt notae ac indicia,<sup>1</sup>  
 quae vbique eam comitantur.<sup>1</sup> Primum  
 est Verbum Dei, veteri & nouo Tes-  
 tamēto consignatum. Cuius autoritas,  
 vt grauior ac antiquior Ecclesia ipsa,  
 solaque per se satis *ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ*  
 existit, ad omnia quae salutis sunt:  
 ita sanè promiscuè cunctis ad legendum  
 ac ruminandū patere debet. Sine hoc  
 enim Verbo nihil neque Ecclesia sta-  
 tuere, nec concilia sancire poterint,  
 quod retulerit saltē salutis nostrae.  
 Secundum est huius dignoscendae Ecole-  
 siae symbolum, Sacramētorum, Baptismi  
 videlicet & Coenae, recta legitimāque  
 administratio. Quae in hoc relictā a  
 Christo sunt, vt his, ceu tesseris  
 quibusdam, promissionis diuinae certius  
 admoneamur. Sicut enim Baptismus  
 (quem semel dūtātaxat inimus) nos condece-  
 facit, vniuersos pariter tum infantes,  
 tum matūriores, natura alioqui ac pec-  
 cati iure à Deo exclusissimos, denuò in-  
 tra gratiae ipsius complexus reuocari,  
 nihil diffisos bonitati ipsius, qui licet  
 gliscentibus in nobis peccati reliquiis,  
 ipsas tamen nobis imputatus non sit:  
 itidem & Coena nos similiter admonitos

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1. Pullain has four "marks or tokens" of the Catholie Church in his Confession of Faith, which appears first in the French edition of the Lit. sac., 1552. They are these:

- (a) The Ministry of the Word
- (b) Prayer to God through Christ alone
- (c) The Sacraments—Baptism, and the Lord's Supper
- (d) Discipline, ecclesiastical and political.

The Catechism published by the authority of Edward VI in 1553 has also four "marks", but they differ slightly from Pullain's. They are

- (a) The pure preaching of the Gospel
- (b) Brotherly love, out of which springeth good will of each other
- (c) The right use of the Sacraments
- (d) Brotherly correction, and the excommunication of those that will not mend their lives. (PARKER SOC: Two Liturgies, p. 518—quoted by H. FLEMING: Ref. in Scotl. 262, n.1 & by GORDON: Thesis, p.154, note 6)

In the Scots Confession, 1560, the "marks" are as in this book:

- (a) The true preaching of the Word of God
- (b) The right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus
- (c) Ecclesiasticall discipline rightly ministred. (CALDERWOOD: Hist. ii. 28.)

The Book of Discipline (First) has four "marks":

- (a) The True preaching of the Word
- (b) The right administration of the Sacraments
- (c) Common Prayers publicly made
- (d) Instruction of children and the unlearned, and Ecclesiastical Discipline. (LAING: KW, ii. 238-239.)

Calvin's Catechism (1st ed. 1537) mentions two:

- (a) The true profession of the Word
- (b) and holie Sacraments. (Section "How the Church May Be Knowne").



## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

that God as a moste prouident father,  
 doth not onely fede our bodies,  
 but also spirituallly nurisheth our  
 soules, with the graces ād benefites  
 of Iesus Christ  
 (which the scripture calleth eatinge  
 of his fleshe, and drinke of his  
 bloode) nether must we in the  
 administratiō of these sacrametes, fol-  
 lowe mā phātasie,  
 but as Christ him self hath ordeyned, so  
 must they be ministred:  
 and by suche as  
 by ordinarie vocatiō are therunto  
 called.<sup>1.</sup> Therfor who soeuer  
 reserueth and worshippeth these sacra-  
 mēts, or contrariwyse contemneth them  
 in tyme and place, procureth to him  
 self damnatiō. The third marke  
 of this church is ecclesiasticall dis-  
 cipline: which standeth in admonitiō,  
 and correction of fautes. The finall  
 ende wherof is excommunication, by the  
 consent of the church determynd, if  
 the offender be obstinate.  
 And besides this ecclesiasticall cen-  
 sure, I acknowlege to belonge to this  
 church a politicall Magistrate: who

facit benignatis eiusdem erga nos Patris,  
 quippe qui nō corpora solū pascit  
 quotidie: sed & animos nostros salu-  
 tifere gratia, ac aeternis meritis  
 Christi Filii sui reficit ac vegetat  
 (quae res in literis mysticis pastus  
 corporis illius, potiōque sanguinis  
 appellatur.) In his per rō mysteriis  
 cauendum tamen, ne quid in consilium hīc  
 adhibeatur, quod humanum sit aut nostrum.  
 Ea solū, qua reliquit Christus puritate,  
 Sacramenta haec tractāda sunt: tum nec  
 ab aliis ministris, quā iis, quos le-  
 gitima vocatio ad hui' fuctionis mun'  
 asciuit, administrāda. Quisquis igitur  
 Sacramenta hec vel asseruat, aut colit,  
 aut alioqui cōtēptim, ritē adhibita as-  
 pernatur, is nihil aliud, quā sibi ipsi  
 damnationē cōciliat. Tertium verō  
 huius Argumentum, morum disciplinam  
 ecclesiae, est ac seueritas ecclesiastica,  
 in admonitione ac animaduersione scelerum  
 constituta. Cuius vltima meta (si  
 grauior videatur perniciacia) expulsionem  
 quam nos excommunicationem dicimus, pub-  
 lico coetus consensu indicta terminatur.  
 Praeterea sub hac ecclesiae societate  
 complector & politicos magistratus,  
 qui

\*\*\*\*\*

1. The Reformers always insisted upon properly called and ordained Ministers dispensing the Sacraments, and under no circumstances would they have committed them to an Elder or private person. The Book of Discipline has a section devoted to the correction and proscription of that error, requiring that "strait Lawis be made against" it. (MAYN: KH, ii. pp. 252-255). While in the Project d'ordonnances (1541) it is expressly stated that the office of the Ministers is "dannoncer la parole de dieu" and "administrer les sacramens". (CALVIN: Opera, X., i. p. 17.)
2. This section was necessitated by the inter-relations between Church and State which existed at this time in Geneva, where the Elders were chosen from the Magistracy, and used their civil power to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. (Cf. e.g. Proj. d'ordon. (1541), CALVIN: Opera, X., i., p. 22). In Scotland this part of the polity was ~~and~~ the first abandoned, and there is no reference to any such arrangement in the First Book of Disc., 1560. When the General Assembly adopted the Westminster Confession in 1647, it was ~~also~~ careful to define the relations between the Magistrate and the Church courts. (Records of the Kirk of Scotland, Session XXIII, 27 August 1647.) In the English Editions of the Forms of Prayer (1596 &c) for use in England among the Puritans, this section is changed to read as follows: "Concerning the Civil Magistrates, ordained of God to minister to every man's justice, defending the good, and punishing the evil; I acknowledge we must render unto them honour and obedience in all things which are agreeable to the Word of God." (HALL: Rel. Lit., i. 14, and Frag. Lit., i. 12.)

↓ In the Second Book of Discipline, however, the Magistrate was given a place of authority in the Church to punish "civilly" that will not obey the censure of the same; without confounding church and the civil jurisdiction with the latter. (ANDERWOOD: Historie, III. 545.)



## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

who ministreth to euery man iustice,

defending the good and punishinge  
the euell. To whom we must

rendre honor, and obedience in all  
thinges, which are not contrarie to  
the word of God. And as

Moses, Ezechias, Iosias,  
and other godly rulers purged the  
church of God

so the defece of Christes church ap-  
perteynith to the Christian magistrates,  
against all idolaters and heretikes,  
as Papistes, Anabaptistes, with such  
like limmes of Antechrist, to roote  
owte all doctrine of deuels, and mē,  
as the masse,

purgatorie, limbus patrū, prayer to  
sāctes, and for the deade,  
freewyll, distinctiō of meates,  
apparell, and days, vowes  
of single life, presence at idoll  
seruice,<sup>1</sup> mans merites, with suchlike,  
which drawe vs frome

the societie of Christes church,  
wherein standeth onely remission of  
synnes, purchased by Christes bloode,  
to all them that beleue, whether they  
be Iewes, or Gentiles,  
and leade vs to

vayne confidence in creatures,  
and trust in our owne imaginations.

qui gubernādīs, ciuitatis rebus praesint,  
ac legum vigore effrenem multitudinem  
retineāt in officio,

quō repressa malorū audacia, boni sine  
periculo tutius conseruentur. Quibus vicis-  
sim à nobis summa debetur reuerentia ac  
obsequium, nisi quum diuino verbo aduer-  
sari quae praecipunt, videbuntur. Vt quē  
quōdam Moses, Asa, Ezechias, Iosias, Iehu,  
ceterique pii p̄cipes cultū Dei prorsus  
ab omni idolothesciae ac superstitionis  
admixtu vindicarunt,

sic & isti suam vicissim opem ecclesiae  
Christianae debent aduersus Antichristum,  
idololatrias, Papistas, & haereticos,  
quo doctrinae daemoniorum, hominūque  
commentitiae nugae reuellantur.

Cuiusmodi sunt missae sacrificium,  
purgatorium, Limbus Patrū, apud  
diuos, proque defūctis inuocationes,  
libera voluntatis electio, ciborū delectus,  
vestium dierumque discrimina, vota  
celibatus, societas in illicitas

sacris, humana merita, & id genus non  
ferendae purulentiae, quae prorsus ab  
ecclesiae contubernio

(in qua omnis est solummodò peccatorū  
remissio, per Christi sanguinem parta  
ac proposita omnibus tum Iudaeis  
tum Gentibus, ad eum per fidē acce-  
dentibus) quosque ipsis innitentes re-

secant, ac ad vanam creaturarum fi-  
dutiā, humanasque traditiones abripiunt.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. The Book of Discipline (1560) urged the civil rulers to suppress all idolatry and its monuments: "By idolatrie we understand the nesse, invocation of sanetis, adoration of ymagis, and the keeping and retenyng of the same: and finallie all honoring of God not conteined in his holie Word." (LAING: KW, ii. 183, 189; of also pp. 252-255.) In Scotland after the Reformation, Mass was of course abolished by law, and steps were taken by the civil authorities to see that that law was kept. But the actual persecutions were very few. HAY FLEMING (Ref. in Scotd. pp. 429-476) gives in detail the evidence of the laws and the various steps taken to have them observed, and one is struck by the little capital punishment enacted. He concludes his evidence as follows: "No other person is known to have afterwards suffered (after 1615) the extreme penalty of the law in Scotland for saying mass or for papistical opinions; and so the account stands thus: Thomas Robeson and perhaps another suffered death for saying mass, and John Ogilvie for his opinions; whereas twenty-one Protestants were judicially put to death for their religion during the thirty-one years preceding 1559." (p. 464). In England the number was much greater, but politics were intertwined with religion, and it was said in a pamphlet, Horae subsecivae that "no papist hath been executed in England on the single account of his religion", i.e. during the days of Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., or Charles II. (Cf. FLEMING: ibid. pp. 464sq.)

## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

The punishment wherof, although God  
often tymes differreth\* in this lyfe:  
yet after the generall resurrection,  
when our sowles and bodies shall ryse  
agayne to immortalitie,  
they shalbe damned to inquencheable  
fyer, and then  
we which haue forsake all mans  
wisdom, to cleaue vnto Christ,  
shall heare that ioyfull voice,  
Come ye blessed of my father,  
inherit ye the kingdome prepared for  
you frome the beginnyng of the worlde,<sup>1</sup>  
and so shall go triumphing with him,  
in bodye, and soule, to remayne euer-  
lastinge in glorie, where  
we shall see God, face to face,  
and shall no more nede one to instruct  
an other,  
for we shall all knowe him frome the  
hyghest, to the leweste: to whome  
  
withe the sonne and the holy ghost,  
be all praise, honor, and glorie,  
nowe and euer.<sup>2</sup> So be it.

Quorum supplicia licet in hac vita  
saepe à Deo producuntur, post tamen,  
in mortuorum resurrectione  
(in qua omnes eisdem corporibus animis-  
que ad immortalitatem reuiuiscemus)  
ineuitabilis iudicii sententia eos  
feriet, gehēnae adiudicandos. Contra  
verò qui spreta omni humanae rationis  
addictione, ipsi simpliciter Christo  
inhaerescunt, his laetissima demū vox  
illa audietur, Venite benedicti Patris  
mei, possédite regnum ante iacta orbis  
fundamenta vobis praeparatū.<sup>1</sup>  
Itaque vita aeterna cum illo fruituri,  
transferemur vna in confortium regni sui  
felicitatis, vbi tuti omni molestia,  
Deum, sicuti est, praesentes contempla-  
bimur, nec iam amplius mutua docendi ac  
discendi vicissitudine indigebimus,  
sed eum à summo ad infimum, vniuersi  
cognoscemus, cui  
soli omnipotentē, infinitē sapienti &  
immortali, omnis sit gloria, cum Filio  
& Spiritu sancto, Amen.

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\*i.e. "deferreth".

1. The translations from the Scriptures, both English and Latin, are in every case independent, and do not follow any version known. Cf MACMILLAN: Thesis, 197.
2. CALVIN's expansion concludes as follows:  
"Item que nous esperons, que Dieu par sa misericorde remettra tousiours les fautes à tous les membres de son Eglise: Les entretenant et conservant iusques à la resurrection bien heureuse, par laquelle ils entreront en la vie eternelle."



THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

- I. OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION  
DE ELIGENDIS MINISTRIS
- II. OF THEIR OFFICE AND DUTY  
QUIBUS IN REBUS PRAECIPVVM MINISTRI  
OFFICIVM SIT SITVM
- III. THE MANNER OF ELECTING PASTORS  
OR MINISTERS  
DE CONSCRIBENDIS PASTORIBVS FORMVLA
- IV. OF THE ELDERS AND AS TOUCHING THEIR  
OFFICE, AND ELECTION  
DE OFFICIO ATQVE ELECTIONE SENIORVM
- V. OF THE DEACONS AND THEIR OFFICE AND ELECTION  
DE DIACONIS, HORVMQVE OFFICIO AC EL/ECTIONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE MINISTRY OF THE  
CHURCH, THE ELDERSHIP, AND  
THE DIACONATE<sup>1</sup>

The underlying principles of this section dealing with the Ministry, Eldership, and Diaconate, are derived directly from Calvin. Some of the matter shows the influence of Pullain, and other parts are adapted to meet the needs peculiar to the English Congregation at Geneva; but the principles throughout are Calvin's. In the footnotes comparisons are made with Calvin and Pullain, and quotations are given. Reference is also made to later Puritan and Scottish practice, showing any important developments or modifications, but not in any exhaustive way. *Now is the theory of the polity discussed.*

In the English Church at Geneva, it will be seen that the method of choosing and appointing Ministers was as follows. First the congregation chose two or three from several nominees. These were duly examined by the Ministers and Elders with regard to their gifts, learning, and manner of life, and, a choice being made, the name of the candidate was made known to the congregation. Then followed a period during which the people were at liberty to make full enquiry into the life and character of the candidate, so that they might satisfy themselves as to his fitness. Thereafter, if nothing were charged against him, a day was appointed for the ordination. That day, at the forenoon service a sermon was preached on the office and duty of a Minister; and in the afternoon his election was formally confirmed, and afterwards he was duly set apart and appointed to

1. No attempt is made in this section to deal in the least exhaustively with Presbyterian polity. What has been done by Miss MCGREGOR, in her thesis; See High Presbyterian Polity. This section deals only with the procedure in the English congregation at Geneva, & its sources, with an occasional reference to a later practice.



77.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE MINISTRY ~~Mc.~~

the charge of that congregation.<sup>1.</sup> At the ordination there was no laying on of hands, but the practice later became universal among the Presbyterians in England and Scotland; full reference to this is made in the footnotes.

It is important, however, to note that the Catholic principle that the Ministry was the gift of Christ to His Church was carefully guarded and given expression. There is no vestige here of the error later found among certain others that the Ministry was created by the people. The people were given a place in the choice, but the candidate was ordained and set apart (after examination) by those already holding the office. For while the Reformers of this period were little inclined to lay stress upon the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, <sup>although they</sup> and in some cases even violently repudiated it,<sup>2.</sup> their practice was always essentially Catholic, — ~~and~~ <sup>that is,</sup> <sup>ordinands</sup> they received their commission from those who had already been admitted to the office, and not from the people. Their Ministry was accordingly a valid Ministry of the Church of God.<sup>3.</sup>

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1. With CALVIN at Geneva the procedure was somewhat different. When a new Minister was required, the Ministers themselves selected and examined one whom they deemed suitable. If, after examination, he was approved, they then submitted him to the City Council for their approval, and finally to the people for formal election. A period then elapsed for any inquiries to be made, during which any charges could be made against him. If no charge was proven, he was duly elected by the people and set apart and ordained by the Ministry on a day appointed, due notice having been given. (Prædication, 1541, CALVIN; Opera, I, i. 17-18.)

PULLAIN's procedure was again slightly varied from this. In the first instance, when a new Minister was to be chosen, the Ministers and Elders submitted nominees to the congregation at a properly called meeting. The congregation chose one of these (or another apart ~~of~~ from these, if they so desired); and he was then examined by the Ministers and Elders, and if found fit in gifts, learning, and life, he was duly ordained after due notice had been given. The laying on of hands was used by Pullain. (Lit. sec., section 'De. elig. min.')

2. Cf., e.g. LAING: Knox's Works, ii. 193; 110. This only an individual view. assist.

3. Cf. HODGE: Church Polity, pp. 147sq.; T.A. LACEY: The Divine Body and the Divine Spirit, pp. throughout.; and other bibliog. referred to in footnotes fol. and Sproull: Worship and Office, pp. 184 sq.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE MINISTRY &c.

The Eldership was derived from Calvin's system of polity, as the footnotes will show. They were to be men of the highest integrity and character, and were chosen by the people to rule with the Ministers. While referred to as "ministers", they were not presbyters, but were simply lay members of the church court. <sup>and their office was</sup> designed <sup>solely</sup> to give the people an honourable place in <sup>the</sup> administration of the congregational life. They were not permitted to administer the sacraments, not even that of Baptism; nor did they assist in the administration at the Table as now. Their office was simply to rule over the congregation with the Ministers, neither one acting without the other. They were set apart in much the same way as the Ministers themselves, but were not ordained for life, nor of course as Presbyters--the intention was not the same as when Ministers were ordained. They were not permitted to preach.

The Diaconate was also taken from Calvin, and was made to approximate as closely as possible to the NT form of the office. The care of the Deacons was simply the administration of the various charities and funds of the church, acting upon the orders of the Ministers and Elders. Like the Elders they were appointed once a year, and solemnly set apart. They too were men of the highest character and faith.

The fourth order of Ministers--the Doctors--were not included in the 'Forme of Prayers', save for <sup>mention in</sup> a brief note.



THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR  
ELECTION.

What things are chiefly re-<sup>1</sup>  
quired in the pastors and  
ministers.

FIRST let the churche diligently  
consider that the minister which is  
to be chosen,  
be not found culpable of any suche  
fantes,

which saincte Paul reprehendeth in a  
man of that vocation:  
but contrarywise endowed with suche  
vertues, that he may be able to vader-  
take his charge, and diligently exe-  
cute the same.<sup>2</sup> Secundely

that he distribute faithfully the  
word of God,<sup>3</sup>  
and  
minister the sacraments  
sincerely, ever careful  
not onely to teache his flock publik-  
ly, but also  
priuatly to admonisse them:

renewing alwaies that if any  
peryshe through his defeaute, the  
lorde will require it at his  
handes.

DE ELIGENDIS MINISTRIS

Quae petissimum in patere  
aut ministro exigenda.

QUI eligendus est, in eo diligenter  
expendat Ecclesia,  
vt eam imprimis in vita praestet syn-  
ceritatem, quae prorsus ab omni repre-  
hensione immunis sit ac libera, quaeque  
ab his viciis quam longissime abuit,  
quae in ministro taxat Apostolus  
Paulus. Rursus neque id satis, vt omni  
vacet crimine, nisi his insuper dotibus,  
ac ornamentis Evangelicis instructus  
accedat, quae tanto administrando  
muneri abundè respondeat. Secundè,  
postquam illum satis ad hunc modum ido-  
neum parèque prouinciae deprehenderit  
ecclesia, videat insuper vt fideliter  
nouata opera, diligentem se praestet  
in iis, quae curae illius subiiciuntur.  
Primum vt fidei dispensatione, è pen-  
Scripturarum non esecitante deprenat  
Diuini verbi salutes escas. Deinde  
vt sacramenta ipsa pari vicissim cum  
synccritate administret, assidua cura  
in hoc intentus, vt non publicè modè plebem  
Dominicam instituendam curet, sed vt  
priuatim insuper quemque pro cuiusque rei  
& tēperis opportuna ratione, cōmoneat:  
nam id ita existimet, siquid sua hīc vs-  
quam negligentia pereat, sibi reddendam  
esse eius rei rationem Domino, ad quem  
simul & sors & vsura spectat.

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1. This paragraph following is an independent compilation of the compilers of  
the Forme of Pr., based solidly on Calvinist opinions, and parts of it traceable  
with little verbal change to Calvin himself. It is not derived through Pullain.  
The Latin here is again more explicit, but not differing in essential sense.

2. Cf. CALVIN: "La seconde partie est de la vie, assavoir sil est de bonnes  
mœurs et sest tousiours gouverne sans reproche. La reigle dy proceder est  
trepien démontrée par saint paul, laquelle jl faulta tenir." Prat. d'orden.  
1541, contained in the Opera, L., l.p. 17.

3. Cf. CALVIN (ibid.): "...leur office est d'annoncer la parole de dieu."

## THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

OF THEIR OFFICE AND DUTY.<sup>1</sup>

Quibus in rebus praecipuum<sup>u</sup>  
ministri officium sit<sup>u</sup>  
situm.

BECAUSE the charge of the word of God is of greater importance, than that any man is able to dispoſe therewith, and sainte Paule exhorteth to esteeme them, as ministers of Christe, and disposers of gods mysteries: not lordes or rulers, as S. Peter saith, over the flocke. Therefore the Pastors or ministers chief office standeth in preaching the worde of God, and ministring the sacramentes. That in consultations, iudgements, elections and other politicall affaires, his counsel, rather than autorite, taketh place.<sup>2</sup> And if so be the congregation vppen iuste cause, agreeth to excommunicate, the it belongeth to the minister, according to their generall determination, to pronounce the sentence, to the end that all thinges may be done orderly, and withoute confusion.<sup>3</sup>

QUONIAM caelestis doctrinae praedicatio Divina quaedam res est, talisque quae nullis huius vitae prophanis curis intermisceri, aut implicari debeat: ac propterea Paulus eos aestimari iubet, ut ministros Christi, ac dispensatores sermonum Dei, non gregis domines aut praeceres, ut est apud Petrum: neminerit igitur iste praecipuas suae functionis partes in annunciendo Dei verbo atque administrandis sacramentis versari. In consultationibus autem, iudiciis, electionibus, caeterisque politicae curae negotiis, concilio quantum quaeat, auctoritate nihil praevaleat.<sup>2</sup> Si qua congregationi iusta videatur causa, cur Ecclesiastica praescriptione utendum sit, aut proferenda excommunicatio, ministri interest, sententiam iuxta congregationis praescriptum, decretum emanare, ut omnia decenter & ordine fiant.

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1. This paragraph also is an independent compilation, setting forth briefly the Calvinist view of the office of the Ministry. The basis of it would seem to be the following paragraph from CALVIN: "Quant est des pasteurs que l'escripture nomme aussi aulounesfois anciens et ministres, leur office est d'annoncer la parole de dieu pour endoctriner, admonester, exhorter et reprendre tant en public comme en particulier, administrer les sacramens et faire les corrections fraternelles avec les anciens et conys." Epi. d'orleans. (Opera X., i., p. 17).
2. This is an interesting statement of the Ministers' relation to civic and secular politics, and except in times of great stress has been the standard of ministerial conduct in Presbyterian churches ever since.
3. Cf. also 'The Ordere for Publick Offendaris' in the Book of Discipline. (LAING: KM, ii. 331.), and 'The Form of Excommunication' adopted by the Assembly and appearing in the BCO ed. 1571. (In SPROTT: BCO, p. 55.) In both these the Minister pronounces sentence, &c.



THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

1.  
THE MANNER OF ELECTING  
PASTORS OR MINISTERS.

DE CONSCRIBENDIS PASTORIBVS  
FORMVLA.

THE ministers and elders at suche  
time as there wanteth a minister,  
assemble the whole congregation, ex-  
hortinge them to aduise and consider  
who may best serue in that rowme,  
and office.

And if there be choyse, the churche  
appoynte two or thre,<sup>2</sup> vppon sūme  
certayne day to be examined by  
the ministers and elders.<sup>3</sup>

COLLECTA Ecclesiasticae congregationis  
vniuersitate, simulque exposita conueni-  
endi causa, Ministri ac seniores, po-  
pulum de eligendo Ministro subuenient,  
eisdemque etiam officii cōmonefaciunt,  
vt talem scilicet subrogent, qui maxi-  
mè videbitur amplificandae Dei gloriae  
accōmodus. Quòd si plures in electionem  
cadūt, certo aliquo quo videbitur die,  
Ministri ac seniores,<sup>2</sup>  
ex consensu Ecclesiae accuratè explorant  
duos trēsue: vt eo delectu habito, fa-  
cilis cognoscant quisnam sit<sup>ad</sup> id muneris  
maximè appositus.<sup>3</sup>

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1. This section is drawn from Calvin and Pullain, and the main correspondences and differences will be noted. All three however keep to these three essentials in the choice and appointment of a Minister: election, examination as to fitness, and due setting apart by prayer in the face of the congregation by other Ministers.

2. PULLAIN (*lit. sup.*) gives an interesting account of how the vote was taken in his congregation, and it throws valuable light on the methods of voting employed in that day, markedly similar to the ancient Greek method. His practice was as follows:

"Primum Minister totius Ecclesiae suffragiis designatur. Conueniunt ipsi Ministri et Seniores cum reliquis aut praecipuis pastoribus aliarum Ecclesi-  
arum ejus urbis: ac totam Ecclesiam quae adest admonent de nouo Ministro eligendo, simul grauissimè commonefaciunt officii sui in hac electione, vt Deum in primis erent ac nemini praeterea indicent aut communicent suum suf-  
fragium: et duos aut plures proponunt, quos ipsi idoneus & consent. Nec tamen Ecclesiam cogunt ex his propositis eligere (Nemini etenim ius suffragii eripitur) tantum viderit vt idoneum aliquem tantae functioni eligat. Atque ea potissimum de causa proponunt aliquot ipsi seniores, ne plebs forte ab-  
erret affectum impetu, aut ignorantia et iudicii inopia.

Ad suffragia porro colligenda dantur viris singulis fidem professis in Ecclesia singuli calculi. Deinde in conspectum Ecclesiae proponuntur totidem vrnæ, quot fuerint homines ad hoc munus a Senioribus propositi, habentes eorum nomina singulae vnius ascripta. Tum ordine accedentes suum calculum impendunt cuiusque vrnæ velint. Quod vt a nemini intelli-  
gatur, in quam puta imposuerit, singulis vrnis manus impenit. Tum cuius vrnæ plures habuerit calculos, is pro Ministro habetur. Additur porro vrnæ vna cæteris sine nomine, in quam scilicet suos calculos impendant ii quibus non placebit suffragium dare alieni ex iis qui a Ministris et Senioribus fuerint propositi. Et calculum suum chartæ inuoluent cui nomen ascribent illius cui malint dare suffragium. Tum si hæc vrnæ fortasse numerum aliquem cæteris parem haberet consentientium in alium non propositum, qui cætera ido-  
neus esset; tum propositis rursus omnibus toti Ecclesiae repetendæ essent sortes istae suffragatoriae.

Postquam suffragia sic collecta erunt, tum in quem plures plurimum consen-  
serint, si cætera idoneus videbitur is a Senioribus et aliis pastoribus Minister si Ecclesiae nominatur." (From the section entitled 'De electione Ministri'). Now follows the examination—of. next note.

3. This examination was instituted at Geneva under Calvin, and adopted elsewhere by the Reformed Churches. With Calvin after the examination by the Ministers the candidate was submitted ~~to~~ to the City Council for their approval, then before installation was approved by the people. Calvin laid great stress on the examination, which he declared to be "the principal thing". As here it was in two parts: "Examen contient deux parties dont la premiere est touchant la doctrine, assauoir si celluy qu'on doit ordonner a bonne et sainete (saine?) cognoissance de l'escripture", and also to discover whether he was "ydone et propre pour la communiquer au peuple en edification." .... "La seconde partie est de la vie, assauoir sil est de bonnes meurs est sest tousiours gouverne sans reproche." (*Proj. d'orden. in Opera*, X., i., p. 17). PULLAIN had a similar examination: "Deinceps certe quodam die iste nominatus a Ministris et Senioribus Ecclesiae examinatur, muniis dotibus praeditus sit, quae Ministrum decent." (Continued from note 2). In the *First Book of Discipline* it was also laid down that the admission of Ministers to their office must consist "in approbation of the learned Ministers appointed for their examination". (LAING: *KL*, ii. 192.) This custom was also continued by the English Puritans as the Puritan editions of the *FP* show. It has since the Reformation been a part of Presbyterian procedure throughout the world, continuing to this day.



## THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

First as touching their doctrine, whether he that should be minister haue good and sounde knowlage in the holi scriptures, and fitte and apte giftes to communicate the same to the edification of the people. For the triall whereof, they propose hym a theme, or text to be treated priuately, wherby his habilitie may the more manifestly appeare vnto the<sup>1.</sup> Secōdly they enquire of his life, and couersation, if he haue in times past lyued without slander: and gouerned hymself in suche sorte as the worde of God hath not hearde euell, or bene slandered through his occasiō, which being generallie done, they signifie vnto the congregation, whose giftes they fynde moste excellent, and profitable for that ministerie. Appoynting by a generall cōsent eight daies at the leaste, that euery man may diligently inquire of his life and manners.

At the which tyme also, the minister exhorteth them to humble themselves to God, by fasting, and prayer,

Primum verò vtrum aptus sit ad docendum sanam quam ipse didicit doctrinam, quaerunt:

id quod proposita thesi aliqua ad extemporaneam dictionem facile deprehendunt.<sup>1.</sup>

Secūda cura est, anteactae vitae & morum, an videlicet castè & integrè praeteritum aetatis tempus confecerit: vt nec vllam ignominiae labem sustineat, nec propter eum. verbum Dei apud alios malè audiat.

Quod cum praestiterint, Ecclesiae subinducant, cuius dotes magis ex vsu fore censeant.

Interim dies minimum octo communibus suffragiis designant: quibus nulli non liberum erit, de educatione sua ac moribus percontari: & siquid in illo quod minus placeat, videbitur, suam sententiam liberè exponere. Quo etiam tempore Minister quoque singulos hortatur, vt ieiunio ac precibus apud Deum quam enixissimè ententes talem ab eo impetrent, *fn*

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Note 2 continued from previous page.

The development of polity in England among the Puritans is demonstrated by the substitution of the following paragraph in the 1586 edn., and the later Middelburg edns of 1587 and 1602 of the Forms of Prayer.—

"And therefore the elders of the vacant congregation, and certain Pastours appointed by the next Conference to it, (whose assistance the said elders are to seek and desire of that Conference,) at such time are to assemble the congregation, (having before appointed a day for fasting and prayer,) to exhort them to pray that God would direct the election to be made, as may be most agreeable to his will, and most profitable for that Church. Then after they are to meet by themselves, and to advise of one fit for the place that is vacant; whom that Assembly of the elders and such pastors are to prove and examine. First as touching doctrine....."(HALL: Rel.Lit., i., 72-73.) In the Waldegrave edition (undated but earlier), the modification is slighter. (HALL: Frag.Lit. i. 16.)

1. My own father relates how he was examined by the Presbytery before ordination, not privately only, but in the face of the congregation to which he was called, by being questioned for an hour and a half by various ministers of the Presbytery, and being required to read at sight passages chosen by them from the OT Hebrew and the NT Greek. So has the extemporary tradition been kept in some branches of Presbyterianism till the close of the last century.



## THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

that bothe their election may be agreeable to his will, and also profitable to the church. And if in the meane season, any thyng be brought agaynst hym, wherby he may be fownde vnwerthy by lawful probations, then is he dismissed, and some other presented. If nothing be alleaged, vppon some certayne day, one of the ministers at the mornyng sermon presenteth hym agayne to the church: framyng his sermon, or some parte thereof, to the setting forth of his dewtie. Then at after none, the sermon ended, the minister exhortith them to the election, with the inuocation of Gods name: directing his prayer, as God shal moue his herte. In like manner after the election, the minister genueth thakes to God with request of suche thinges as shalbe necessarie for his office. <sup>1</sup> After that he is appointed minister, the people syng a Psalme and departe.

qui suae Diuinae voluntati optimè satisfaciat, & Ecclesiae Commode quam diligentissimè studeat. Intereo verò si aliquis fortè crimen contra eum intetet, cuius vel certis indiciis conuincatur, vel se reum confitentem ei praebeat, loco amouetur, & aliter sufficitur. Sin verò inueniatur nihil in eo offensione dignum, die constituto Minister aliquis concione sua antemeridiana eum deinde<sup>te</sup> Ecclesiae commendat, simulque munus eius accuratè explicat. his ritè gestis statim à concione pomeridiana, ad suffragiorum disquisitionem hortatur. cui negotie Ecclesiastes oratione ad institutum accommodata praecit: ea autem re cōfecta, rursus gratias agit Deo, ac ea postulat quae de hinc ad functionis suae rationem<sup>1</sup> pertineant. Deinceps Psalmo finito populus dimittitur.

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Cap 1. In this service there was no laying on of hands accompanying the prayer of ordination. In this they were following Calvin's practice at Geneva, which is defined in the Prole d'ordon. (1541) as follows: "Quant a la maniere de l'introduyre, jl seroit bon de user l'imposition des mains, laquelle ceremonye a este gardee des apostres et puy en l'esglise ancienne, moyennant que cela se face sans superstition et sans offence. Mais pource quil y a eu beaucoup de superstition au temps passe et quil sen pourroit en suivre du scandalle on sen abstient pour l'infirmité du temps." This was the first suggestion, but it was crossed out, and this substituted in the official text: "Quant a la maniere de l'introduyre, pource que les ceremonies du temps passe ont este tournees en beaucoup de superstitions, a cause de l'infirmité du temps, il suffira quil se fasse par un des ministres une declaration en remonstrance de loffice auquel on l'ordonne puis qu'on fasse la grace de sen acquiter." (CALVIN: Opera, X., i. 19).

Cap PULLAIN, however, who is representative of Calvin's Strasburg use, continued the ancient custom of laying on of hands at ordination. After the examination and due notice, "Tandem die aliquo celebriori, puta die Dominice, ab aliis Ministris et Senioribus et Pastore aliquo reliquarum Ecclesiarum eorum tota Ecclesia Minister nominatur, consalutatur et manuum impositione omnium assensu instituitur et confirmatur." (Lit. ecc., Section, 'De electione ministri'.)

In Scotland apparently the laying on of hands was not at first practised, if the first Book of Discipline (1560) may be taken as a fair guide. After election and examination, he is ordained by other Ministers with instruction and prayer, but without the laying on of hands, for "Other ceremony then the publick approbation of the people, and declaration of the chieff minister, that the persone thair presented is appointed to serve that Kirk, we can nett approve; for albeit the Apostillis used the imposition of handis, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we iudge is nett necessarie." (LAING: KH, ii. 193.) But in the second Book of Discipline (1578), in accordance with the provision of the Second Helvetic Confession adopted by the General Assembly in 1566, the laying on of hands is expressly enjoined: "Ordination is the separation and sanctifying of the persone appointed to God and his Kirk, after he be weil tryit and fund qualifiit. The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and imposition of hands of the eldership. That has since continued the practice in the Church of Scotland, except for fasting only." <sup>eldership = elders</sup>

Cap In England, the Puritans also used the laying on of hands at ordination. That is at once evident from the English (i.e., those meant for use in England) of the Forme of Prayer (e.g., 1536, 1537, 1538), for the following was added to that above: "After that, (the prayer), he is ordained by the laying on of hands of the eldership, with these words pronounced by the Minister thereunto appointed: According to this lawfull calling, agreeable



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## THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

Fastnote continued from preceding page.

to the word of God, whereby thou art chosen Pastor in the name of God, stand thou charged with the pastoral charge of this people, over which the Holy Ghost hath made thee overseer, to govern the flock of God, which he hath purchased with his blood. This done, the people sing a Psalm, and depart."

(HALL: Relit., i. 74-75; Frag. Lit., i. 18-19.)

A most interesting relic of early Puritan use is reprinted by Hall from the Middelburg edition of the EE, 1602, where for the first time a Puritan ordinal appears in full. It is not necessary here to give the whole, but the essentials of the rite are printed below. *(copy of the original is in the B.M.)* cap.

cap  
First an address is given, based first on the words of institution of the Ministry from Ephesians iv.: "The Lord Christ gave some to be Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the body of Christ." Then the charge is outlined: (1) "that they are, upon good ground, soundly to deliver unto the people the word of the Lord.... by instructing, admonishing, confuting, and rebuking them... preaching conversion unto God.... (2) "The Pastor's charge is to make public prayers in the behalf of the whole Church.... (3) "they are to administer the Sacraments.... (4) "Finally, the Pastors ought to maintain and govern the Church of God in good discipline."

cap  
After the exhortation, the following questions are asked:

- (1) "First, I ask you, whether you feel in your heart that you are called lawfully by the Church of God, and consequently by God himself, to this holy Ministry?"
- (2) "Secondly, whether you hold the books of the Old and New Testament to be the only word of God, and the perfect doctrine of salvation; and do you forsake all doctrines repugnant unto the same?"
- (3) "Thirdly, whether you promise to execute your charge, as before it is described, with all fidelity, according to the same doctrine; and to execute and accompany your instructions with a godly life: as also to submit yourself to the Church censures, according to the common order of the Churches, if it happen that you should miscarry yourself either in doctrine or life?"

Ans. "With all my heart."

"Then shall the Minister who hath asked him these questions, or another Minister, (when there are more,) lay their hands\* upon his head, and speak thus: ("Marg. note: 'Note, that this ceremony is not used in the confirmation of those that have been ordained before, but only the giving of hands after the action.'")

GOD, our heavenly Father, who hath called you to this holy calling, illuminate you by his Spirit, strengthen you by his hand, and so direct you in ~~his~~ your ministry, that you may walk in the same orderly, faithfully, and fruitfully, to the praise of his holy name, and the furthering and increasing of the kingdom of his Son Jesus Christ.

After this shall the Minister from the pulpit admonish in this sort both the confirmed Minister, and the people:

YOU, therefore, well-beloved Brether and Fellow-Minister in Christ, take heed unto yourself, and unto all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseer, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. Love Christ, and feed his sheep: having a care of them, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; not as though you were lord over the people committed unto you, but as being become a father unto the flock. Be an ensample unto them that believe, in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, and in pureness. Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine; and neglect not the gift that is given you. Exercise these things, and give yourself wholly unto them, that it may be seen how you do profit among all men. Take heed unto learning, and continue therein. Hear patiently all gainsaying and reproach, as a good soldier of Christ. Doing this, you shall save yourself, and those that hear you: and when the chief Pastor shall appear, you shall receive the incorruptible crown of glory.

Yes, likewise, dear Brether, receive this your Minister in the Lord with all joy, and make much of such. Think that God himself doth speak by them unto you, and pray you. Embrace the word which he (according to the Scripture) is to deliver; and that, not as any man's word, but, as it is indeed, the word of God. Let the feet of them that publish peace, and declare good things, be beautiful and acceptable unto you. Obey them that have the oversight of you; for they watch for your souls as they that must give account: that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you. By doing so, the peace of God shall enter into your houses; and you shall receive the reward of a prophet; and by his word, believing in Christ, shall inherit life everlasting. Notwithstanding, seeing that no man is fit to any of all these things of himself, let us call unto God with thanksgiving in this manner:

O MERCIFUL Father, we thank thee that it hath pleased thee, out of mankind that is corrupted, to gather thee a Church unto life everlasting by the ministry of man; and that so mercifully thou hast provided the Church here of a faithful and trusty minister. We beseech thee, Heavenly Father, to make him by thy Spirit more and more fit for the service whereunto thou hast called him; giving him wisdom to understand thy holy Scripture, and utterance to open his mouth boldly, and publish the mystery of the Gospel. Endue him with wisdom and courage to rule aright, and maintain in Christian peace the people committed unto him; and that thy Church, under his administration and good example, may increase in multitude and true godliness. Grant him a good heart in all troubles and crosses that may meet him in his charge; that, being strengthened by the comfort of thy Spirit, and continuing constantly unto the end, he, with all thy true servants, may be received into the joys of thee, his Lord God. Likewise, shew mercy to his people, that they may behave themselves reverently

ward



# THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

Footnote continued from previous page.

towards this their Pastor; acknowledging him to be sent unto them from thee; receiving his doctrine with all respect and honour, and submitting themselves unto his exhortations; that they, by his word, believing in Christ, may be made partakers of life everlasting. Hear us, O Father, through thy well-beloved Son, who hath taught us thus to pray:  
Our Father, &c. "

—HALL: Rel. Lit. 1., pp. 75-85.

The Form of Presbyterial Church Government (1645), states that "ordination is the act of a presbytery.... Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong.... He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained." And it then outlines a service with exhortation, questions, and prayers very similar to that above of 1692.

It must not be thought, however, because the laying on of hands was not used in Geneva, nor at first in Scotland, that the 'perpetua successio presbyterorum' was broken thereby, for it was always the intention to ordain, and the ordination was always performed by other duly ordained presbyters acting in an orderly and corporate way, as representatives of the whole church.

cap. None of the Reformed theologians, however, held that the laying on of hands was necessary to ordination, though most held it to be a useful and helpful ceremony. For a discussion of this whole matter, which does not come strictly within the compass of this thesis, Cf JAMES RANNERMAN: The Church of Christ, i. 496sq., ii. App. H., GEORGE GILLESPIE: Treatise of Miscellaneous Questions, in Presbyterian Armoury, vol. ii. chapt. iii., and chapt. viii., WITHERSPON & KIRKPATRICK: A Manual of Church Doctrine, p. 167., RALFOUR OF RUTHVEN: Rise and Devolt. of Presb. in Scotd., p. 44., CALVIN: Institutes, bk. IV., 31, 6, GEO. GILLESPIE: Assertion of the Govt. of the Ch. of Scotd., chapt. xiv., R. H. STORY: The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church (Reid Lecture, 1897), pp. 242sq., G. W. SPROTT: The Pentecostal Gift, pp. 192sq., &c.

cap. It is interesting to note in this connection also that the great R. C. scholar, Mgr. Duchesne, points out that setting apart by prayer is the essence of ordination, i. e., prayer by others duly ordained, commissioning by the commissioned in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After reviewing all the main ordinals of Christendom, East, Western, and Gallican, he sums up: "We see that in all these rites the ceremony of ordination consists especially of a prayer recited over the candidate in a public and solemn assembly. This prayer is accompanied by the imposition of hands." And he adds this footnote: "It is worth while citing here the words of St. Augustine: 'Quid aliud est manuum impositio quam oratio super hominem?' This observation is so true that the imposition of hands an express terms is frequently omitted in the books of ritual." (DUCHESNE: Christian Worship p. 377. — the quotation from St. Augustine is from De Rep., 222 III., xvi., 21.) Cf. also the following from Bishop WORDSWORTH, on the meaning of the word 'cheirethesia': "It is, however, I think, quite possible that stretching out of hands, without actual contact, as in later forms of the Roman rite of Confirmation, and in the Abyssinian ordinations in the case of Deacons, was considered sufficient. The important thing was prayer, the 'Oratio super hominem'. Hence 'cheirethesia' in Greek Liturgies often means simply 'Benediction'. Cf. Origen, Hom. in Lev. 2:4, 'imponent ei manus'—'let them pray over him', St. James 5:14. Cp. EV Tolet. c. 13, A. D. 633." (WORDSWORTH: The Ministry of Grace, p. 129.)

It is also of interest to note that one man, at least, who was ordained in the English congregation at Geneva, namely, William Whittingham, was afterwards received into the Church of England without re-ordination, & made Dean of Warham, which office he held till his death.



# THE ELDERSHIP

OF THE ELDERS AND AS TOVCHYNG  
THEIR OFFICE, AND ELECTION.

DE OFFICIO ATQVE ELECTIONE SENI-  
ORVM.

THE Elders must be men of good lyfe,  
and godly conversatiō, withoute blame  
and all suspitiō, carefull for the  
fleeke, wise ād aboue all thynges,  
fearing God. Whose office standeth  
in gouerning with the rest of the  
ministers, in consulting, admonis-  
shing, correcting, and ordering all  
thynges appertayning to the state of  
the congregation. And they differ  
from the ministers in that they  
preache not the worde, nor minister  
the sacramentes. In assemblyng the  
people, nether they, nor the minis-  
ters withoute them may attempt any  
thing. And if any of the iuste nōbre  
want, the minister by the consent of  
the rest, warneth the people thereof,  
and finalye admonisheth them to ob-  
serue the same ordre, which was used  
in chosing the ministers.

SENIORES, viros cumprimis pios,  
vitaque integra ac inculpata, Ec-  
clesiae procurandae sollicitos, so-  
lertes ac ex animo Deū timentes esse  
oportebit, quorū officii fuerit  
(quod ex Scripturis liquere poterit)  
ministris pariter communi ope adesse in  
consiliis, in admonendo,  
corrigendo, denique in gubernandis &  
constituendis totius Ecclesiae rebus.  
Hi autem à reliquis ministris,  
verbi tantum praedicatione, atque ad-  
ministratiōe Sacramētorum differūt.  
In conuocando  
verò populo, neque hi sine ministris,  
nec ministri absque his aliquid tentare  
audeant. Quod si quis ex iusto numero  
defuerit, resque potuisset electionem,  
praemonetur prius à ministro eunius  
nomine populus, eāque formam quae  
superius in deligendo ministre obser-  
uata est, iubetur subsequi.

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1. CALVIN defines their office in similar terms: "Leur office est de prendre garde sur la vie d'un chacun, d'admonester amiablement ceulx qui'lls verrent faillir ou mener vie desordonnee, et la ou j'l en seroit mestier faire rapport a la compaignye qui sera depute pour faire les corrections fraternelles et les faire avec les autres." (Prel. d'ordon. 1541. CALVIN: Opera, X.i., 22.) PULLAIN also uses similar words: "Seniores sunt ex tota Ecclesia praestantissimi viri, digni quos etiam privatos omnes reuerentur, qui Ministris adiunguntur in administratiōe, ut causas omnes iudicent et praesint omnibus in rebus, quae ad Ecclesiasticam politiam pertinent." (Lit. sac., 'De senioribus'.) In the First Book of Disc. 1580, it is stated that "Men of best knowledge in Goddis word, of clearest life, men faithfull, and of most honest conversation that can be found in the Church, must be nominated to be in election." (LAING: IV, ii. 238.) Their office is the same as above. In the second Bk. of Disc. 1581, again similar terms are used: "Their office is, als weill severallie as conjunctlie, to watch diligently upon the flock committit to their charge, baith publickly and privately, that no corruption of religion or manners enter therein.... It appertaines to them to assist the pastor in examination of them that cumis to the Lord's Table; Item, in visiting the sick.... Their principall office is to hold assemblies with the pastors and deacons, (who ar also of their number,) for establishing of gode order, and execution of discipline." (CALDERWOOD: History, iii. 538.) In Puritan use in England the office was described in the same terms as above, (FP) the paragraph remaining unchanged. In the second Bk. of Disc. 1581, it is stated that the office is a spiritual and a perpetual one: "The eldership is a spirituall function, as is the ministrie. Elders aris lawfully callit to the office, and having gifts of God meit to exercise the same, may not leive it again." (CALDERWOOD: ibid.), and in the Latin above it is referred to as a Scriptural Office. There was apparently some confusion with regard to the conception held at the time, for they were not "elders" in the NT sense. The Form of Church Government (1645) at last made that clear saying that they were not elders in the sense of 'presbuterei' but were "other Church Governors", or "officers" whom "Reformed Churches commonly call Elders." "The Westminster Assembly", says Sprott, "definitely rejected what is called the Presbyter theory of the office, and regarded them merely as laymen representing the laity in the government of the Church." (SPROTT: Wm. & Off., p. 238) The Westminster conception is undoubtedly nearer the original intention at Geneva than the second Book of Discipline, which was framed by the second generation of Reformers. Farther, in Calvin's Church they were appointed yearly, and not for life. (Opera, X.i. 22). (With him they were also required to be Magistrates of the City.) Pullain may have taken a higher view of the office, for they appear to have been ordained for life with him, and he also used the laying on of hands. (Lit. sac., 'De senioribus'.) But in the English Congregation, they were appointed yearly, for we read in the Livre des anglois this notice: "The Names of the Ministers, Seniors and Deacons yerely chosen and elete



# THE ELDERSHIP

## Footnotes continued.

1. (cont'd.) and elected w<sup>t</sup>in the Englishe Church and Congregation at Geneva, to be the ministry there, w<sup>th</sup> the daye and the yere when they were chosen and elected...." Eliv. des angl., p. 49. Cf. MARTIN: Les Prots. ang., p. 234.)

Following the Genevan practice the First Bk. of Disc., recommended also that the Elders be appointed yearly: "The election of Elders and Deacons ought to be used every yeare once, (which we judge to be most convenient the first day of August;) least that by long continuance of such officiaris, men presume upon the libertie of the Church. It hurtis not that one man be reteined in office no yearis than one, so that he be appointed yearlie, by common and fre election." (LAING: KW, ii. 234).

Since the Westminster Assembly the Eldership has been as a rule regarded as what it was first meant to be—a means of giving adequate lay representation in the government and administration of the Church, but since the second Book of Discipline it has been the custom in most branches of Presbyterianism to appoint these Elders for life.

2. The fact that they are called ministers (cf. the Latin—"reliquis ministris") does not mean that they were regarded as Ministers in the same sense that the "Pastors" were. From the earliest times even the lowest servers in the Church were counted among its "ministers", and were so called. It was only in the later days of Puritanism that "Ministers" came to mean exclusively "Ministers of the Word and Sacraments" or "Presbyters".
3. This is still a principle of Presbyterianism the world over: Ministers and Elders together carry on the spiritual (and in many cases the temporal) work of the Church, save the dispensing of the Sacraments and the preaching of the Word, which belong to the Minister alone.
4. ~~There is no fixed number in any of the Liturgies, save Pullain's, where the number 12 is fixed. (Lit. sag., 'De senioribus').~~  
There is no fixed number in any of the Liturgies, save Pullain's, where the number 12 is fixed. (Lit. sag., 'De senioribus').
5. The edition of 1562 &c., adds, "as farre furth as their vocation requireth." PULLAIN always had a separate order, but it was nevertheless little different from that used at the ordination of Ministers. He points out the method of nominating and voting, and after the Church has signified its assent to those elected, "Ministri et Seniores manus imponunt, et hos in ordinem presbyterii cooptant, commendantes Deo, ut suo spiritu ampliori augeat, que possint huic functioni satisfacere." (ibid.)  
There is no separate order for the admission of Elders in any of the later editions of the FP for use in England, but in Apr. 1562, the General Assembly in Scotd. ordered a form for this purpose to be added to the BCC. This form is reprinted in SPROTT's edition of the BCC, pp. 28-29. It consists of a very short address after sermon, a short set prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer, followed by the Apostles' Creed, the 108th Psalm from verse 19, and then another extremely brief exhortation. There is no injunction to use the laying on of hands. In the Church of Scotland today the laying on of hands is not used; but in many other branches of Presbyterianism it is the custom. But the intention by so doing is not to ordain the Elders as Presbyters, and more than the Bishop using the laying on of hands at Confirmation is ordaining the newly confirmed as priests!

## THE DIACONATE

### OF THE DEACONS<sup>1.</sup> AND THEIR OFFICE AND ELECTION.

### DE DIACONIS<sup>1.</sup> HORVMQUE OFFICIO AC ELECTIONE.

THE deacons must be men of good estimation, and report, discret, of good cōscience, charitable, wyse, and finallye adorned with suche vertues, as S. Paul requireth in them.

Their office is, to gather the aulmes diligetlie, and faithfullie to distribute it, with the consent of the ministers, and elders. Also to prouyde for the sicke, and impotent personnes. Hauing euer a diligent care, that the charitie of godlye men, be not wasted vpon loytrers, and ydle vogabōdes. Their election is, as hath been afore rehearsed in the ministres and Elders.

DIACONOS similiter

bene audiētes, pios, misericordiae affectu propēsos, prudētes atque illis denique dotibus instructos, quas Paulus describit, consentaneum fuerit. Ad horum spectat officium, vt eleemosynas à plebe recipiāt, easdēque erogādas cum adhibito ministrorum ac seniorū consensu in egenos curent: vtque sollicitam agant curam pauperum & languentium: cauentes interim ne aliorum beneficentiam in ignauos homines ac otiosos ventres profundant. Horum autem electio vt superius constat.

WE are not ignorant that the scriptures make mention of a fourth kynde of ministers, left to the church of Christe. Which also are very profitable, where tyme and place dothe permit.

But for lacke of oportunitie, in this our dispersion and exile, we can not well haue the vse therof: and wolde to God it were not neglected where better

QUARTVM adhuc genus ministrorū Scripturis sacris Ecclesię preponi nemini esse potest obscurū:

quorū vsus pernecessarius esset, vbi cætera cōueniunt, verū tamen in hoc nostro exilio ablata opportunitate, quanquā aegrè, curare tamen necesse est. Quod cum

præstantissimū Dei sit beneficium in

1. CALVIN describes their office thus: "Il y en a eu deux especes en lesglise ancienne, les ungs ont este deputez a receuoir, dispenser et conseruer les biens des peuvres, tant aulmosnes quotidiannes que possessions, rentes et pensions. Les autres pour seigner et penser les malades et administrer la pitance des peuvres." (*Proi. d'orden.*, in CALVIN: *Opera*, M. i. 28.) PULLAIN has the following in his *Lit. sac.*, section, "De electione diaconorum": "Diaconos habent quatuor, aut quot Ecclesie opus erunt, qui eleemosynis præsint, et pauperum ac infirmorum in primis curam gerant. Nec minore grauitate aut alio modo horum electio fit, quàm Seniorum. Tantum hoc interest, quòd hoc ministerium non est nisi vnum: quòd liberum sit ad finem anni Ecclesie, rationibus Eleem. auditis, vel illos in sequentem annum confirmare, vel alios in eorum locum substituere."

In the later editions for use in England, the paragraph as above is unchanged in the *FP*.

In the *First Book of Discipline*, 1560, they are required to be of the same character and moral quality as the Elders. Their office is "to receave the rentis, and gather the almons of the Church, to keip and distribute the same, as by the ministerie of the Kirk shall be appointed. They may also assist in judgement with the Ministeris and Elderis, and may be admitted to read in the assemblie yf thei be required, and be fund abill thairto." (*LAING: KH, ii. 283-287.*)

The *Second Bk. of Dis.*, 1561, counts the deacons as those "unto whom the collection and distribution of the almes of the faithfull, and ecclesiasticall gudes, does belong." They are described as "an ordinar and perpetuall ecclesiasticall function in the kirk of Christ", and are apparently appointed for life. They do not belong to the presbytery or eldership. (*CALDERWOOD: Hist.*, iii. 543.) A Form for their admission is in *SPROTT: RCO*, cf. preceding page.

In all cases except the second Bk. of Dis. they were appointed yearly. The office is now almost extinct in the Church of Scotland. Deacons are appointed for life in the Presbyterian Ch. of Engd. In other branches of Presbyterianism Managers, as they are called, are appointed from year to year to manage the financial affairs of the congregation. The Kirk Session<sup>now</sup> comprehends their duties in the Church of Scotland, i.e. before Union. except in a few special cases.



# NOTE CONCERNING THE DOCTORS

ocasion serueth.

These ministers are called,

1. teachers or docters. Whose office is to instructe, and teache the faithfull in sounde doctrine, prouiding with all diligence, that the puritie of the gospell be not corrupt either through ignorance, or euill opinions. Notwithstanding, considering the present state of thynges, we comprehend vnder this title, suche meanes, as God hathe in his churchs that it shuld not be left desolate, nor yet his doctrine decaye, for default of ministers therof. Therefore to terme it by a worde more vsuall in these our dayes, we may call it thorder of schooles, wherein the highest degree and most annexed to the ministerie and gouernment of the churchs,

is the exposition of Godes worde, which sacre Scripturæ\* interpretatie, quae is contayned in thelde and newe testam- veteri & nouo Testamento constat.  
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\*Scripturæ

1. This 'order' of the Ministry is taken from CALVIN, who says: "Il y a quatre ordres d'offices que nostre seigneur a jnstitue pour le gouvernement de son eglise. Premièrement les pasteurs, puis les docteurs, apres les anciens, quartement les diacres." (Préj.d'ordon. 1541, in Opera, X.i.15-16). "L'office propre de docteurs est d'enseigner les fidelles en saine doctrine, affin que la pureté de leuangel ne soit corrompue ou par jgnorance ou par mauuaises opinions... Le degre plus prochain au ministere et plus conioinct au gouuernement de l'eglise est la lecture de theologie, dont jl sera bon quil y en ait au viciil et nouveau testament... et aussi aux langues et sciences humaines.... Jl faudra dresser college pour instruyre les enfans, affin de les preparer tant au ministere que gouuernement civil." (Op.cit., p. 21.)

There is no mention of the office in PULLAIN, and in the later editions for Puritan use this note on Doctors is omitted from the FP.

The First Book of Discipline elaborated a fine scheme of education.- cf. LAING: KW, ii. 208-221. It was set forth that "every severall churchs have a schoolmaister"; and "that no fader, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his awin fantasie, especiallie in their youth-heads; but all must be compelled to bring up thair children in learning and virtus." In the large towns the Masters were to be required to be able to teach grammar and Latin; and in the notable towns an arts college should be erected where at least logic, rhetoric, and the tongues would be taught. (Op.cit. ii. 209-211). The Reformers also submitted plans for the re-conditioning of the Universities, and proposed that schools should be maintained out of the tiends (Op.cit. ii. 222), and the universities endowed "with temperall landis, with rents and reuenewis of the bishopricks temporalitie, and of the and of the Kirkis collegiat, as far as thair ordinarie charges shall require." (Op.cit., ii. 218). "Unfortunately for this country," writes Prof. Hay Fleming, "this magnificent educational scheme was not carried out." (H. FLEMING: Ref. in Scotd., 519.) Nevertheless, the seed was sown and in later years it brought forth a rich harvest.

ecclesiam suam, optandū esset pfectō vt sūmo in honore haberetur ab his quorum rationes maxime patiuntur. hoc autem genus ipsum Ministrorum Scriptura sacra visito nomine<sup>te</sup> doctores appellat: quorum hoc munus est, ceteros vt doceant purē ac solidē Dei oracula: summo opere in id incumbentes, ne Euangelii splendor & integritas aut ignorantiae tenebris offundatur, aut falsis opinionibus violetur ac corrumpatur. Sed quae horum temporum est conditio, sub hoc titulo cōplectimur ea adiumenta & facultates quas Deus ad conseruandum Ecclesiae suae statum ac dignitatem reliquit: vt nec illa deseretur propter doctorum hominum inopiam, nec hi suppeterent, propter ignauiam praeeptorum. Vt igitur proprius ad vsum nostrum ista accommodemus, visitato quidem, & fortasse non inepte vocabulo scholas nostre more dixerimus. In quibus summus dignitatis gradus est, ac proxime verbi ministerio adiunctus,

## NOTE CONCERNING THE DOCTORS

mentes. But because menne can not so well profett in that knowledge, except they be first instructed in the tongues and humane sciences (for now God worketh not commonlie by miracles) it is necessarie that seed be sown for the tyme to come, to the intent that the church be not left barren, and waste, to our posteritie: and that scholes also be erected, and colledges mayntayned, with iuste and sufficient stipendes, wherein youth may be trayned in the knowledge and feare of God: that in their ripe age they may prove worthy membres of our lorde Iesus Christ, whether it be to rule in ciuill policie, or to serue in the spirituall ministerie, or els to lyue in godly reuerence and subiectiō.

Quum autem hanc interpretandi artē absque linguarum cognitione, atque bonarum artium scientia consequi nemo possit (miracula enim frustra iam quaerimus) sementem aliquam facere oportet, quò melius in posterum prospiciatur Ecclesiae, ne eam posteri derelictam & incultam accipiant. Aperiendae etiam scholae sunt, collegia conseruanda, atque iustis stipendiis ornanda: in quibus prebè ingenueque educata iuuentus, in rectae religionis cognitione, Deique timere, in viros doctos atque perfectos euadāt: ut tanquam Iesu Christi viua membra, siue rem publicam administrent, siue Ecclesiasticam procuratorem suspiciant, siue aliis pareant, in quorum imperio futuri sūt, publicis rationibus vtilissimi: sed imprimis Dei glorie studiosissimi habeantur.

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THE CONSISTORY AND WEEKLY EXERCISE

- I. THE CONSISTORIE. The weekly assemble of  
the ministers.

DE MINISTERII CONVENTU.

- II. INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

DE SCRIPTVRIS INTERPRETANDIS.

91.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CONSISTORY AND TO  
THE PROPHECY

The Consistory was a part of Calvin's ecclesiastical machinery for the maintaining of discipline among the people; but when it was adopted by the English congregation, its purview was extended <sup>to include also</sup> ~~to~~ the Ministers and Elders. It was to be used primarily as an opportunity for mutual and self examination; after that the discipline of the people could be attended to. In this form it was adopted by Calvin in 1557 to be used by the Magistracy in the City Council.<sup>1.</sup> The practice may have had its roots in the pre-Reformation consistories of monasteries and collegiate churches, but the connection is remote.

The 'Prophecy' or 'Interpretation of the Scriptures' or 'Exercise' appears to have been a development of the compilers themselves; it may have been a custom commenced in Frankfort, for, in 1555, a Lasco also included such a practice in his Forma ac ratio.<sup>2.</sup> Evidently it was regarded as most helpful, for it re-appears in the First Book of Discipline,<sup>3.</sup> was continued by the Puritans in England,<sup>4.</sup> and was even introduced into many dioceses in England with the consent and approval of the bishops,<sup>5.</sup> where it flourished for many years.  
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1. Cf. note 1, p. 92 of this thesis.      2. KUYPER: Works, vol. II ii.

3. LAING: KW, ii. 242-245.      4. Cf. later edms. of FP in HALL.

5. "Exercises among the ministers and curates of churches, called prophesyings, from the Apostle's word, 1 Cor. xiv., were now (1572) used by most dioceses" (STRYPE: Annals of the Refm. ii., 472). The fact, however, that "laymen and non-conforming Ministers were allowed to take part in the debates; that speeches were made against the government and the services of the Church" (STRYPE: GRINDAL, p. 326, and NEAL: Puritans, i. 231) caused the Queen in 1577 to issue an order for the complete suppression of the "exercise called prophesying". Much opposition was thereby aroused, and even Grindal refused to concur, ~~thus~~ and (lost as a result) the Queen's favour. (Cf. Grindal's Remains, Parker Soc.). At a later period, Lord Bacon in a letter to James I., questioned the advisability of continuing to suppress a practice which was favoured by "the greatest and gravest prelate of the land." (Works, i., p. 357.). (On the whole cf. SPROTT: RCO, p. 199, and BAIRD: On Lits., pp. 203-4.)



THE CONSISTORY OR WEEKLY ASSEMBLY  
OF THE MINISTERS

1.  
THE CONSISTORIE. THE WEEKLY  
ASSEMBLY OF THE MINISTERS.

1.  
DE MINISTRELLI CONVENTU.

TO the intent, that the ministerie  
of Godes woorde, may be had in reuer-  
ence, and not brought to contempt,  
through the euill conuersation of  
suche, as are called therunto; and  
also that fautes and vices, may not by  
long sufferance growe at length to ex-  
treme inconueniences: It is ordeyned  
that euery thursdave, the ministers,  
and elders, in their assemblie or Con-  
sistorie diligentlie examine all such  
fautes and suspicions, as may be espied,  
  
not onely emongest others,  
but chiefly emongest theym selues,

Vt suus honos & laus Verbo Dei  
perpetuò seruetur integra, vtque  
nonullorum improbitas & turpitude  
illius administrationi nullam in-  
famiam aut damnum afferat, quin &  
subnascentia vitia, ne dissipentur  
latius, maturè resecentur:  
effectum est,  
vt singula quarta hebdomadis die,  
Verbi ministri cum reliquo collegio  
in suo consessu diligenter dispiciant  
& explorent: non errata solum & vitia  
quae cernunt, sed suspiciones ipsas  
& occasiones, quae ad malum aliquod  
spectare, aut Ecclesiam in inuidiam  
vocare videantur. Cuius rei animad-  
uersio, cum non ad plebem tantum per-  
tinet, vt si quid ab ipsorum quoquã  
delinquatur, statim plectatur, dũ  
aliis datur venia: sed multò magis ad  
eos, quibus Ecclesiae negotium mādatur  
& creditur: haec duo praecepta omnino  
teneant: vnum, vt totum corpus Eccle-  
siae sic curēt, vt ex aequo omnibus  
prospiciant, ne cum in partem aliquã  
animaduertant, reliquis autem licen-  
tiam concedentes, ad ipsorum maleficia  
cōnuceant, vt meritò in prouerbi il-  
lius reprehensionem incurrant, Dat ve-

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1. There was under Calvin a weekly meeting of the Ministers and Elders every Thursday to deal with matters of discipline, but discipline of the people only, and not of the Ministers or Elders themselves. (Cf. Proj. d'ord., Art. 'De l'ordre quen doit tenir enuers les grans, pour observer bonne police en lesglise.' Opera, X.i. 29.)  
But among the Magistracy a similar meeting for mutual examination was held once a month, and was instituted under Calvin. It was known as the 'grabeau'; and as Prof. Hume Brown has said, it was an astonishing Republic where such institutions could have their place. It is described in the 'Register of the Council' as follows: "It having been proved it would be good and expedient that a day in each month or quarter should be fixed for a meeting here in extraordinary Council, no one failing, if necessity call for it, to remonstrate with each other, all being done in good order, all enmity and rancour laid aside, on their faults and slackness in duty, in order that the grace of God may be present among us,—it is decreed in the name of God Almighty that this be done and carried out in charity and brotherly affection, all enmities being cast aside, and that a beginning be made on Wednesday next at six in the morning, and that all be done to the honour of God and to his glory. Amen." (Reg. de Cons., 1557, 3rd Sec.) An entry of the following year (2 Mar. 1558) shows that the Council had duly put into practice the above decision; "In consequence of this ordinance," we read, "fraternal censures have taken place in the Council. In good love and charity each had censured the other, proceeding from the first to the last, each pointing out to the other his imperfections and vices. May the Lord make it redound to the profit of us all!" (Quoted by H. BROWN: Knox, i. 198.)  
As Presbyterianism developed, discipline of Ministers was in the hands of the Presbyteries and higher courts, and of the people in the Kirk-Sessions.

the hands of

THE CONSISTORY OR WEEKLY ASSEMBLY  
OF THE MINISTERS

lest they seme  
to be culpable,  
of that which our sauier Christe re-  
preued, in the pharisees, who could  
espie a mote in ether mans eye, and  
could not see a beame in their owne.  
And becawse the eye ought to be more  
cleare, then the rest of the bodie,  
the minister may not be spotted with  
any vice, but to the great slaunder of  
Gedes woorde, whose message he beareth.

Therefore it is to be vnderstand\*  
that there be certayne fautes, which  
if they be deprehended in a minister,  
he oght to be deposed: as  
heresie, papistrie, schisme, blasphemie,  
periurie, fornication, theft, drunkenes,  
vsurie, fighting, vnlawfull games,  
with suche like.  
Others are more tolerable, if so be,  
that after brotherlie admonition,  
he amedith his faut:  
as strange and vnprofitable fashon in  
preaching the scriptures, curiositie  
in sekynge vayne questions, negligence,  
aswell in his sermons, as in studyng

niam coruis vexat censura columbas.  
Nihil enim turpius aut foedius in omni  
vita: sed in hoc genere praecipue,  
quam aequam rerum gubernationem, Ec-  
clesieque (cuius caput Christus est)  
procuracionem suscipere, eamque nostrae  
fidei comissam non solum oscitanter  
administrare: sed vel propter ignauiam  
deserere, vel propter perfidia prodere.  
Alterum, vt prouideant hi, qui sibi  
hoc sumpserunt, vt mores aliorum cor-  
rigant, peccata reprehendant, rationem  
vitae ab altero reposcant: vt non solum  
ipsi ab iis se abstineant maxime vitiis,  
quae in aliis vindicauerint, sed etiam  
vt omni ignominiae labe careant, quò  
possint melius vitae suae rationem red-  
dere ne alioqui id in eos congruat,  
quod seruator Christus acriter in Phari-  
saeis vituperat, qui festucam quidem  
in alterius oculo cernerent, ingentem  
autem trabem ex proprio non eximerent.  
Et quoniam corporis lucidissima pars  
est oculus,  
minister certe, qui oculi vice caeteros  
intermicare debet, non potest aliqua  
macula infici, vt non eandem opera, verbo  
Dei, cuius dispensator existit, summam  
infamiae notam inurat. Quocirca scire con-  
uenit, quaedam esse vitia, quae si in  
ministro aliquo deprehenduntur, statim a  
functione amoueri debet, cuiusmodi  
est haeresis, Papismus, schisma, blasphemie,  
periurium, fornicatio, furtum,  
ebrietas, vsura, pugnae, illiberalis  
ludus, vt aleae, chartae, & id genus alia.  
Alia verò sunt eiusmodi, vt licet per-  
mitti non debent, tolerari tamen aliqua  
ex parte possunt, modò admonitus ex-  
templo resipiscat: vtpotè ratio trac-  
tandi Scripturas curiosa magis cum utilis,  
friolae item quaestiones, negligentia  
tam in concionibus, quam in reliquis

\*\*\*\*\*

\*understood



# THE CONSISTORY OR WEEKLY ASSEMBLY OF THE MINISTERS

the scriptures, as in all other thynges studiis, ac rebus suis,  
concerning his vocation, scurrilitie, vrbalitas scurrilis,  
flattering, lying, backbyting, wanton adulatio, mendacium, obstreetatio, fa-  
weordes, deceipt, couetousnes, cetia, obscoenitas, fraus, auaritia,  
tauntyng, dissolutiō in apparell,<sup>1</sup> ioci, scommata, luxus circa vestitum,<sup>1</sup>  
gesture and other doynges, which vices, gestum, aut alias actiones: quae  
as they be odious in all men, cum in nemine reprehensione careant,  
so in hym that ought to be as an ex- in eo praesertim, qui reliquis probi-  
ample to others of perfection, in bitatis ac virtutis exemplar esse debet,  
no wise are to be suffred: especially, non modo non ferenda sunt:  
if so be that according to Codes rule sed si admonitionibus ex verbo Dei  
being brotherlie aduertised, he ac- factis non cedit, seuere etiam anim-  
knowledge not his faut and amend. aduertenda.

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1. This is the only reference in the FP to Ministers' apparel, but it serves to raise the whole question of apparel and vestments.

"In Geneva", says RAIRD, "instead of the variegated vestments, the garb of the Ministers was the plain black robe with embroidered lappets, the bands, and black velvet cap." For wearing this "long gown or robe", Calvin "never met with but one rebuff in all his life, and that from a silly woman who declaimed against long garments, &c... She pretended to prove this from the Gospel, saying, Is it not written, They shall come to you in long garments? Calvin left her in despair of convincing such ignorance." (RAIRD: On Liturgies, p. 26. Cf also 'Ep. to Farel', RINGHAM: Works, p. 758). The custom above-referred to of wearing the black gown, bands, and velvet cap, is simply a continuing of the pre-Reformation priest's out-door habit, but now it was used at the services indoors as well. It was not the academic gown which is now frequently used by Presbyterian Ministers.

PULLAIN also approved of only the soberest garb for Ministers, and dis-  
countenanced the use of the vestments, as is seen from the following ex-  
tract from his 'Ad candidum lectorem admonitio' (Lit. sac., 1554.). "Nihil  
de vestibus hinc praecipere fortasse aliqui murmurabunt. Id vno verbo illis  
responsum velim. Cum de vestibus ad ministerium adhibendis Paulus nihil  
vsipiam doceat: Ne tunc quidem cum de Eucharistia acturus mulieribus suum or-  
natum praescribit: quid hic Ecclesiam Dei iugo vis premere? quam neque de  
diei festi parte, neque de cibo, neque de potu indicari vult Paulus. In  
quotidiana vsu sit ministrorum vestibus modestus ac grauis, ab omni luxu et  
fastu alienus. In eodem ministrent populo. Nam non est vestibus (nisi iis  
admodum modestis, et remotis ab omni luxu) dignoscendus a suis: sed verbi  
Dei potentia ac sollicita sedulitate, et omni morum comitate atque benigni-  
tate: vt armentarius aliquis non veste a suis ouibus agnoscitur, sed sibilo,  
sed cura sedula, et pabulo, et fide custodia." Further, he continues, since  
the 'Papists' have so abused the vestments that men have come to think them  
almost essential to the conduct of Divine Service, it is best that the Re-  
formed Church should content itself here with the "summa simplicitate".

From the beginning in ENGLAND, the Puritan party appears to have held even  
the black gown in disfavour. Even as early as 1562 in the requests to conueca-  
tion we read this—"that the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments be not com-  
pelled to wear such Gowns and caps, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel have  
chosen to be the special Array of their Priesthood." (JENNIE STRYPE: Annals,  
i. 386.) Similarly, in the same period, we find the bishops enforcing the  
the casseok and gown and forbidding the Puritan custom of preaching in what  
Bishop Duppa called "a riding or ambulatory Cloake". (Rit. Com. Rep. ii. 577).  
(These are quoted by DEARMER: The Parson's Handbook, 820.) The gowns referred  
to here are no doubt the surplice, but the same prejudice also seems to have  
been entertained for the black gown, for it also was purely a priestly habit.

In SCOTLAND in the early days of the Reformation it appears that the gown  
was not commonly worn. They may have worn casseok, bands, and a cloak with a  
scarf or tipnet, as it seems in contemporary portraits of Knox, but it is  
impossible to distinguish with certainty, and there may have been no uniform  
custom. In 1575 at the third Session, the General Assembly laid down minute  
directions with regard to the dress of the clergy and their wives as follows:

"Forsuameikle as ane comely and decent apparell is requisite in all, namely  
in the ministers, and sic as bearis function in the Kirk: first, we think all  
kinde of broidering unseemly, all bagaries of velvet on gowns, hoses, or  
coats, and all superfluous and vain cutting out, steiking with silke, all  
kinde of coastlie sewing or variant heuis in sarks, and kinde of licht and  
variant heuis in cloathing, as red, blew, yellow, and sicklyke, quilk declares  
the lightnesse of the mynde; all wearing of rings, bracelets, buttons of  
silver, gold, or other metal; all kinde of superfluitie of cloath in making of hose;  
all using of plaids in the kirk be readers or ministers, namely in tyme of  
their ministrie, and using their office; all kinde of gowning, coating,  
doubletting, or breitches of velvet, satine, taffetie, or suchlyke; all costlie  
guilting of whingers or knives, and sicklyke; all silken hatts, and hatts of  
diverse and light celloures: But that their hail habite shall be of grave  
cellour, as black, russet, sad gray, sad browne, or serges, wirsett, camlet,  
grewgrane, lytes, worsett, or sicklyke; and to be short, that the good word



75

# THE PROPHECY, OR INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES

## 1. INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

EVERIE weeke once, the congrega-  
tion assemble to heare some place  
of the scriptures orderly expounded.  
At which tyme, it is lawfull for e-  
very man to speake, or enquire as  
God shall moue his harte, ad the  
text minister occasiō, so it be with-  
out pertinacitae or disdayne, as one  
that rather seketh to proffit then  
to contend. And if so be any contencion  
rise, then suche as are appointed  
moderatours, either satisfie the par-  
tie, or els if he seme to cuill, ex-  
herte hym to kepe silence, referring  
the iudgement therof to the ministers,  
and elders, to be determined in their  
assemble or consistorie before men-  
tioned.

## DE SCRIPTURIS INTERPRETANDIS. <sup>1</sup>

SINGVLIS quibusque septimanis in  
vnum pariter ab Ecclesia conuenitur,  
ad enarrandum aliquem Scripturae le-  
cum, qua in materia cuique liberum  
erit, vel sciscitando perquirere, vel  
scrupum iniicere, vel quicquid illi  
suggererit Spiritus sanctus, preponere,  
modò citra peruicaciam ac cōtumeliam,  
modò discendi potius quàm contendendi  
studio. Quòd si efferuescere vltra  
modestiae lineas videbitur disputandi  
pertinacia, hi qui regendae diatribae  
moderatores praeficiuntur, vel argu-  
mentis satisfaciunt antagonistaes, aut  
si pergat immoderatus sophisticari,  
amicè hominem ad silentium cohortantes,  
controuersiam ipsam ad Ministrorum  
cōsessum referent.

\*Hic adijcere soleamus Psalmos Ang-  
lice traductos, ac Geneuensem  
Catechismum, quam iam Latine to-  
ties editum non necesse putau-  
mus hoc loco attexere.

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\*The Latin manuscript concludes with this section,  
and this brief reference to the translation of the  
Psalms, which they have not thought necessary to  
include in the Latin volume.

Note from previous page continued:

of God be then and their immoderateness be not melanderit; and their wives  
to be subject to the same order." (Book of the Universall Kirk, 1575, Session 3.)  
This rather amusing pronouncement of the wisdom of the Assembly seems to point  
to the fact not only that the ministers were to dress in the gravest apparel,  
but also "all gowning" is forbidden; and further, since they are prohibited  
from wearing plaids while performing their ministerial duties, such a prohibition  
would hardly have been necessary had it been the custom to wear pulpit gowns.  
At this early period it is probable that gowns were seldom if ever worn in  
Scotland by the ministers.

At the Assembly of the Estates in 24th June, 1609, however, the King was  
given authority to prescribe the apparel of judges, magistrates, and ministers.  
The following is a part of the Act: "Attour, his Majesty and Estates foresaids,  
considering what slander and contempt has arisen to the ecclesiasticall estate  
of this kingdom by the occasion of the light and undecent apparell used by some  
of that profession, and chiefly these having vote in Parliament: It is therefore  
statute that every preacher of God's word shall hereafter weare black, grave and  
seemely apparell becoming men of their estate and profession.... Therefore it is  
agreed and consented to by the Estates, that what order as ever his Majesty in  
his great wisdom shall think meet to prescribe for the apparell of kirk-men  
agreeable to their estate and meyen; the same being sent in writ by his Majesty  
to his Clerk of Register, shall be sufficient warrant to him for inserting  
thereof in the buikes of Parliament to have the strength and effect of an act."  
From this time onwards till 1688, Sprott tells us that gowns and bands were  
worn at meetings of Synods and Assemblies, but does not quote his authority. He  
also states that "it was noticed as a novelty that at the Glasgow Assembly of  
1688 very few of the clergy appeared in their gowns, while many of the elders  
wore swords and daggers." In later practice, the gown and bands became practically  
universal, however. (cf. SPOTT: Worship & Offices, pp. 244sq.)

1. This 'Prophecy' may have derived from Calvin who had daily services, one of  
which may have developed into an open forum (Proj. d'ordon. in Opera, I, i, 21), and  
it was John a Lasco's Forma ac ratio, 1555.  
The custom was continued in England and in Scotland under the direction of the  
Bishop or Presbytery (SPOTT: ROO, p. 199.) Pullain had a weekly service of Re-  
pentance. (cf. also DAIRD: On Lit., pp. 205-204)

similarly developed in



THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

PRAYERS.

PRECES.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

In scope and content the FP is derived from and closely associated with Calvin's La Forme. The ~~Footnotes~~<sup>Sunday</sup> to the Morning Service will show the details in particular, while the following table shows the close relationship between them in general order. The derivation came, it would appear, through Pullain and Huycke.

| Calvin, (Stras) 1545  | Pullain(Lond)1551   | Calvin(Gen)1542, 1547.<br>Huycke(Lond)1550<br>Pullain(Frank)1554  | Forme of Pr. 1556<br>Ratio st Forma, 1556                                    |
|---|---|---|--|
| .....   | 1st. Table of De-<br>calogue sung in<br>metre.  | Whole Decalogue <sup>1</sup><br>sung in metre.  | .....  |
| Ser.Sent: Mostre<br>aide seit &c.   | Ser.Sent: Adiu-<br>tierum &c.   | Scrit.Sent: do.   |  |
| Conf. of sins   | Conf. of sins<br>Ser.Sents. of<br>remission.  | Conf. of sins<br>Ser.Sents. of 1.<br>remission.<br>Ser.Sents. of 1.<br>absolution.                                | Conf. of sins<br>+ Prayer for pardon.  |
| Absolution  | Absolution  |   |  |
| 1st Table of De-<br>calogue sung in<br>metre.   |   |   |  |
|   | 2nd Table of De-<br>calogue sung in<br>metre.   |   |  |
| Prayer for instruc-<br>tion in the Law of<br>God, and grace to<br>walk always therein.                  | Prayer for instruc-<br>tion in the Law of<br>God, and grace to<br>walk always therein.                            |   |  |
| 2nd Table of Deca-<br>logue sung in metre,<br>during which Minis-<br>ter goes to pulpit.<br>(Marriages) | (Metrical Psalm,<br>during which Minis-<br>ter goes to pulpit.)   | (Metrical Psalm)  | Metrical Psalm <sup>2</sup> .<br>(Marriages)                                 |
| Prayer for illumi-<br>nation, (Example<br>given) concluding<br>with the Lord's<br>Prayer.               | Prayer for illumi-<br>nation. (Example<br>given)  | Prayer for illumi-<br>nation.   | Prayer for illumi-<br>nation.  |
| Scripture Reading &<br>Sermon.  | Scripture Reading<br>(from NT) & Sermon<br><br>(Marriages, Baptisms,<br>& Publi.cn. of Banns)                     | Scripture Reading<br>(from NT) <sup>1</sup> & Sermon<br><br>(Marriages, Bapts.<br>& Publicn. of Banns)            | Scripture Reading<br>& Sermon<br><br>(Baptisms & Publi-<br>cation of Banns). |
|   | Special biddings<br>prayers for sick or/<br>poor (.....)  | Special bidding<br>prayers for sick<br>or poor (.....) <sup>1</sup>   |  |
|   | Offering for<br>poor  | Offering for poor <sup>1</sup> .  |  |
| Long Prayer +<br>Lord's Prayer in a<br>long paraphrase  | Long Prayer +<br>Lord's Prayer in a<br>long paraphrase  | Long Prayer +<br>Lord's Prayer in a<br>long paraphrase  | Long Prayer +<br>Lord's Prayer   |
| Apostles' Creed<br>(sung in metre on<br>Communion Sundays)  | Apostles' Creed<br>(said by Minister<br>alone, except on<br>Communion Sundays<br>when people sang<br>it in metre) | Apostles' Creed<br>(said by Minister<br>alone, except on<br>Communion Sundays<br>when people sang<br>it in metre) | Apostles' Creed<br>(said by Minister<br>alone)                               |

(1. Pullain only)

2. Not in Ratio st Forma



## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

|                               |                  |                  |                           |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Psalm in metre                | Psalm in metre   | Psalm in metre   | Psalm in metre            |
| Blessing (Numb.) <sup>3</sup> | Blessing (Numb.) | Blessing (Numb.) | Blessing (1 Cor. & Numb.) |

This table at once shows how closely the FP of 1556 is related <sup>to</sup> Calvin's La Ferme of 1542 or Huycke's translation of it in 1559. It also serves to show the trend towards simplicity which manifested itself after Calvin returned to Geneva from Strasburg; practices ~~w~~ere permitted in Strasburg, which were not regarded with favour in iconoclastic Geneva; and it was after the sober, severe Genevan model that the FP was fashioned. The relationship both in order and content is abundantly clear.

Therefore, to understand the Sunday Morning Worship of the FP, 1556, it is necessary to enquire into the sources of Calvin's worship, so that its descent and the principles embodied in it may be traced.

It has long been erroneously held by those who followed EBRARD that Calvin's service originated with Calvin himself, a few elements, particularly the Confession of sins, having been derived from the worship in the German-Swiss cantons.<sup>1</sup> This appears to have been SPROTT's view, following Ebrard.<sup>2</sup> This view has long since, however, been proved incomplete and inadequate by the conclusive researches of such distinguished scholars as Smend, Erichson, Hubert, Büchsenenschütz, Deunergue, and others. There can no longer be any doubt but that Calvin's

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1. Ebrard writes of Calvin's liturgy that it is "frei aus einem Guss, aus dem Mittelpunkt des Evangelischen Glaubens heraus, ein Neues geschaffen". (Cf. ERICHSON: Gottesdienstordnung, p. 3).<sup>n</sup> Such, however, was not the case, as modern research shows.

[and EBRARD: Rif. Kirchensbuch.

2. SPROTT: RCO - 'Statement illustrating the Pedigree of the RCO' - pp. 197-199. ^

3. This use of the Blessing from Numbers was likely the result of Luther's influence in his formula Missa. Cf. Text in SEHLING: Evangel. Kirchenord. i. p. 458. or also to Calvin from the Strasb. Court worship. v. p. 101.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

the service of  
 Sunday Morning Service was derived from the German  
 churches at Strasburg, which <sup>service was in it</sup> ~~was~~ turn ~~was~~  
 derived from the Roman Eucharist. Calvin's Service  
 was not an innovation of his own fashioning, but,  
 as he states on the title-page of his La Forme,  
 "a form of prayers and administration of the sac-  
 raments, according to the custom of the ancient  
 Church." If it <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ a return to simplicity, it was  
 a return also to the simplicity of the primitive  
 Church.<sup>1.</sup>

Calvin himself tells us plainly that he borrowed  
 his Sunday Morning Service from Strasburg. In his  
 'Discours d'adieu aux ministres' he writes as follows:  
 "A mon retour de Strasbourg, ie fis le catéchisme à la haste... Quant  
 aux prieres de dimanches ie prins la forme de Strasbourg et en empruntay  
 la plus grande partie."<sup>2.</sup> By 'the form of Strasburg', Calvin  
 means the form of service in use in the German Church  
 in Strasburg, and not, as has been commonly and care-  
 lessly thought, the French Church there. For before

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1. BRIGHTMAN (Eng. Rite, i.p.cxlvi; ii.pp.1039 sq.) has proposed another theory, namely, that "the substance of the Reformed Sunday morning service of Strasburg and Geneva.... is only a perpetuation of the Prone" (a short vernacular service inserted into the Mass, consisting usually of the Lord's prayer, sermon, bidding prayers, Apostles' Creed, and sometimes an exhortation before the prayer of Consecration) "which is thus the original of the morning service in all the communions, in France, the Low Countries, Scotland and elsewhere, in which the influence of the Swiss Reformation has prevailed." It is conceivable, and probable, that some of the elements of the service were derived from the Prone, but to say that the Reformed service is only, or at all, a perpetuation of the Prone is a pure extravagance, and despite the convincing looking parallels which Brightman has labouriously compiled, cannot be accepted as serious historical enquiry. To suggest that the Reformers at Strasburg threw the Mass overboard, and put in its place the slight and inadequate vernacular service known as the Prone, is to completely ignore the various editions of the Strasburg Service Books referred to in the genealogical bibliography of this thesis, and it is also to close one's eyes to the long series of researches made by the continental scholars referred to on the previous page. The Reformed tradition cannot be so summarily and disparagingly dismissed. However much the Reformers simplified their services, they did not abandon the main tradition; and if they did not have at a later time weekly Communion, neither did they have it in the Anglican Church; and if instead they had a service closely resembling a 'missa sices' or a 'missa ante-communion service' (to use a ~~common~~ Anglican term), they were only doing the same thing that is bidden in the BCP (edns. 1552 sq., and also though in different wording in 1549) in the first rubric after Communion. More concerning this latter will be said on the pages following. (cf also p. 129 for use of Prone) (For the simplicity of the early Roman rite cf Bishop's essay in Liturgical history)
2. Calv. Opera, II., p. 894.



## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Calvin came to Strasburg in September 1538 the French Church there was not permitted to have any services but those consisting of singing, reading, prayers, and preaching.<sup>1.</sup> Accordingly, there was no formulary in print from which Calvin could have borrowed.

In 1539, Calvin collected a few paraphrases and some of Marot's metrical psalms, and published them under the title: Aulcuns Pseaumes & Cantiques mys en chant. A Strasburg. 1539. Soon, however, a more complete Service Book appeared, containing a service for Sunday Morning, orders for the administration of the Sacraments, and various prayers. This edition unfortunately has disappeared, no single copy remaining extant.<sup>2.</sup>

By 1542, it was out of print, and Calvin's successor, Pierre Brully, ordered a new edition (L),<sup>3.</sup> one copy only of which remains, which was discovered in 1872 by a Parisian bookseller, Gaiffe, and is now in the possession of M. Stoecklin of Geneva. <sup>who has deposited it in the Town Lib.</sup> Erichson is of the opinion that there is not the least doubt that this edition (L) was directly derived from Calvin's former edition (now lost), and he quotes Brully's words in corroboration: "Ich habe die frantzösischen gesang psalmen, gemeine gebet vnd formular der Sacrament handlungen diser Kirchen alhie, weil keine büchlin mehr vorhanden, widerumb inn Druck verfertigt."<sup>4.</sup> Farther, he points out

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1. ERICHSON: Gottesdienst., p. 6.

2. But that it existed Brully's words quoted <sup>in the next paragraph</sup> show.

3. These letters in brackets refer to the letters used to designate the various Service Books in the Genealogical Bibliography, <sup>but</sup> supra.

4. ERICHSON: op. cit., p. 10.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

that Calvin acknowledges responsibility for the La Ferme, 1545 (N), which he prepared for the use of his old congregation in Strasburg, and it is almost word for word identical with the La maniere 1542 (L). Not that he claimed authorship for it all (the Baptismal Service alone came from his pen), but he was the compiler; and the Sunday Morning Service he took almost completely from the Psalter, 1539, (K) used in the German Church at Strasburg. This we know from his own admission,<sup>1.</sup> and from a comparison of the two. The footnotes to the pages of the Sunday Morning Service will give the parallels of the various prayers and rubrics. Calvin did not read or speak German,<sup>2.</sup> so would have had to depend on someone else to prepare him a rough draft of the German prayers and service, <sup>and from</sup> ~~but~~ this rough draft he <sup>fashioned</sup> ~~worked up~~ his own Service. <sup>and prayers.</sup> He does not reproduce the prayers verbatim, but the similarity of phrase and sequence is too plain to be passed by. Similarly, with regard to the order, he does not feel required to follow exactly that of the German Church, but the close relationship between the two is quite unmistakable. This the following table

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1. Cf. p. 98 *ut supra*.

2. This he admits in a letter to the German Reformer Andreas, written on the 1st August 1557, in which he ~~says~~ says: "Since I do not know the German tongue (*quia lingua germanicæ sum ignarus*), I have given your book to a friend to read; he will prepare a résumé ~~for~~ of it for me." (*Calv. Opera*, XVI., p. 558 - quoted by DOUMERGUE: *Calvin*, ii., p. 495).



INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

will demonstrate.

| Psalter, 1539 (K)   | La maniere, 1542 (L)  | La Forme, 1545 (N)  |
|---|---|---|
| Script. sent.   | Script. sent.   | Scripture sent.   |
| Confession of sins<br>(a choice from three<br>confiteors)   | Confession of sins<br>(the same as the<br>second in K)                          | Confession of sins<br>(the same as L)   |
| Ser.sents.of remission<br>Absolution  | Ser.sents.of remission<br>Absolution  | (Ser.sents.of remission)<br>Absolution  |
| Singing: Psalm 57, or<br>another Psalm; the 7<br>Words from the Cross,<br>or another hymn; or<br>sometimes the Kyrie-<br>eleyson and Gloria in<br>excelsis. | Singing: 1st table<br>of the Decalogue<br>in metre.                             | Singing: 1st table<br>of the Decalogue as<br>in L                                   |
| Prayer: Collect for<br>illumination   | Prayer: for instruc-<br>tion in the Law of<br>God.                              | Prayer: for instruction<br>in the Law of God  |
| Singing: Psalm<br>(during which Minister<br>goes to pulpit)   | Singing: 2nd table<br>of Decalogue (during<br>which Minister goes<br>to pulpit) | Singing: 2nd table of<br>Decalogue (during which<br>Minister goes to the<br>pulpit) |
|   | Prayer: for illumi-<br>nation   | Prayer: for illumina-<br>tion as in L   |
| Reading from Gospel<br>& Sermon   | Scripture Reading &<br>Sermon   | Scripture Reading &<br>Sermon   |
| Apostles' Creed (sung<br>by all), or a Psalm,<br>or Hymn  |   |   |
| Long prayer (choice of<br>three) + Lord's prayer  | Long prayer <sup>L</sup> +<br>Lord's prayer in a<br>long paraphrase             | Long prayer <sup>L</sup> +<br>Lord's prayer in a<br>long paraphrase as in L         |
| (Psalm sung, if no<br>Communion, as in small<br>churches)   | Singing: Apostles'<br>Creed or a Psalm  | Singing: Apostles'<br>Creed   |
| Blessing (Numb.)<br>and Dismissal   | Benediction (Numb)  | Blessing (Numb.)  |

The close relationship between Calvin and Bucer's<sup>1.</sup>  
Psalter is apparent: without doubt the Calvinistic  
Sunday Morning Service has its roots in Strasburg.

What, then, is the history of the Strasburg rite?  
The answer carries us back to the early days of the  
Reformation.

Luther in his treatise, The *Babylonic Captivity of the Church,*  
1520, set forth the necessity of a German Mass, but  
hesitated himself to take the step involved in such  
a drastic uprooting of old tradition. Three years

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1. This rite represents Bucer's influence at its height.

2. This long prayer is almost identical with the 3<sup>rd</sup> alternative prayer in the German *Psalter*.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

later, in 1523, he published his Formula missae,<sup>1.</sup> in which he sought to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of the Eucharistic Worship, between what was Scriptural and primitive, and that which was later added, and to devise a rite, purged of abuses and superstitions, which would be in accordance with early catholic usage.

"Imprimis itaque profiteamur", he writes in his introduction, non esse nec fuisse unquam in animo nostro, omnem cultum dei prorsus abolere, sed eum, qui in usu est, pessimis additamentis viciatum, repurgare et usum pium monstrare. Nam hoc negare non possumus, missas et communionem panis et vini ritum esse a Christo divinitus institutum. Qui sub ipso Christo primum, deinde sub apostolis simplicissime atque piissime, absque ullis additamentis, observatus fuit. Sed successu temporis tot humanis inventis auctus, et praeter nomen ad nostra saecula nihil de missa et communione pervenerit."<sup>2</sup>

With that as his point of view, he proceeded to go through the Mass, suggesting that which should be retained, and that which well could be spared; but still he wrote none of it in the vernacular. Although urged from many quarters to give a lead by producing a vernacular Mass that all might adopt, he was slow and reluctant in complying with the demand, urging that the task was a heavy one, especially the adapting of the music to the new German words.<sup>3.</sup> It was accordingly not till 1526 that he produced his Deutsche Messe,<sup>4.</sup> set to

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1. Text in SEHLING: Die Evang. Kirchenord. des XVI. Jahrh., I., pp. 4 sq.

2. SEHLING: op.cit., fol. A.I. p. 4.

3. Luther's Werke, xix., pp. 44-45.

4. For text with music, 2. Werke, xix., pp. 70-113; without music, SEHLING: op.cit., i. pp. 10-16. A convenient summary is given in FRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, i. pp. xxxii-xxxiii; and of the 'Formula missae' on pp. xxxi-xxxii.



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## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

music and ready for use.

But Luther had been anticipated by many of his followers,<sup>1.</sup> who in varying degrees had begun to celebrate the Mass in the vernacular, so that a great variety

of rites were beginning to spring up. The first German Mass at Strasburg was celebrated by Diebold Schwarz (Theobald Nigri or Niger)<sup>2.</sup> on 16th February 1524, in the St. John's chapel of the Cathedral of St. Laurence.<sup>3.</sup> It shows signs of some dependence upon Luther's advice in his Formula missae, but is of course quite independent of his German Mass which appeared later.

Schwarz's Mass is an almost literal translation of the Roman Mass, with certain of the elements

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1. Cf. Editor's introduction in Luther's Werke, xix., p. 44. We are concerned only with the Strasburg rites, as it alone is connected with Calvin. The other rites have also no connection with Strasburg as they were all individual efforts with no relation<sup>one</sup> to each other.

for an introduction  
enough. v. SMEND!  
Dis 1000g. Kautsian  
M15944.

2. Schwarz was born at Strasburg in 1485, his father being an ironmonger in the city. Schwarz, taking holy orders, became a Dominican, and later a brother of the Order of the Holy Spirit. Having accepted the Protestant ideas, he became assistant to Zell at the Strasburg Cathedral, and in 1524, Minister of St. Peter's-the-old. Calvin in his letters mentions twice a son of Schwarz's, who studied at Neuchâtel, and later at Geneva in 1548. (Cf. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii. 491-492).

3. Bäckensschütz quotes the following interesting contemporary evidence from a letter of the bishop's chaplain (Jean Wernher) to the Magistrates: "das eyner, so sich nennt Diebold Schwarz, etwan prediger ordens vnd jüngst ins Heiligen geists orden zu Stechsfeld gewesen, des zeichen er dan kurz verschwyner tagen offentlich an jm getragen, vnd aber jetztund, on entschuldung syner ~~excommunicirten~~ glücklichen pflicht vnd er laubnus oder dispensation syner ordenlicher oberkeit, autwilliglich von gemeltem orden abgetreten, darumb er dan nach ordnung der rechten in Ran gefallen vnd als ein verbanter billich gehalten werden soll.... vf einstag nechst nach dem Sontag Invecauit verschynen offentlich bei Sanct Laurensen in sanct Johans cappellen, als man sagt, zu teutsch Mess gelesen vnd also etliche, wyder der heiligen Kirchen ordnung, verbat vnd alten, vnuß achtlichen, löblichen gebrauch vnd herkommen, vf ~~Römisch~~ Römisch manier vnd art, mit dem heiligen Sacrament des Brots vnd Kelchs, einem jeden christlichen Menschen seltzemlich vnd abschülich zu hören, berichtet vnd communiciert.... bitt ihn, dem bischöflichen Vicari des orts, bistendig vnd behilfflich zu sein, damit zu disen ferlichen zeyten solchem vngehörten, abschewlichen Inbruchen vnd Newerungen in anfang ein geburlicher wyderstand geschehe." (Histoire des lits. en langue allemande, pp. 18-19).

He also tells us that on the first page of the MS of Schwarz's Mass, there is written in the hand of a contemporary the following: "Vff disse nachgeschriben weiss ward die Form Kinde zu teuffen nach lüt der lathenaischen Form von wort zu wort durch Theobald Nigri, der seit helffer von S. Lorentzen, durch welchen auch die mess zu dem Ersten zu deutsch gehalten ward, sot. anno 1524. Aber darnach in rat aller pfarher ist alles Kirchensbrang vnd der geschrift gemesser geordnet worden." (op. cit., p. 17).

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omitted. The following is the order: It opens with a Prayer of Approach, followed by a Confession of sins and Scriptural Sentences (1 Tim. i. 15). Then the priest goes to the altar, and facing the people salutes them with the words, "Gott begnade vnd erbarne sich über uns alle", making the sign of the cross, and saying, "Amen". This is followed by the singing of the Kyries, the Gloria in excelsis, ~~the Sanctus~~. Then the salutation and Collect, followed by the Epistle and Gospel, after which is said (later sung) the Nicene Creed. Instead of the Offertory prayers, this exhortation is said: "Lieben brüder vnd Schwestern, bitten gott den vatter durch vnsern herren Jesum Christum, das er vns den heiligen geist, den Tröster zuschicke, das er mache vnser leb zu ein lebendigen heiligen wolgefelligen opfer, das do (da) ist der vernünftige gottesdienst, der gott gefelt. Das beschehe vns allen, Amen." Now comes the Preface, Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, the <sup>Lavabo</sup> ~~Lavabo~~ and silent prayers, followed by a general prayer (later replaced by a prayer of preparation). Then the Words of Institution are read and the elevation takes place. This is followed by a short prayer <sup>of oblation</sup> and the Lord's Prayer with a short addition. The Agnus Dei follows, and after it a short <sup>prayer</sup> ~~exhortation~~. Communion in two kinds (unless desired only in one kind by the communicant) comes next, after which <sup>is a</sup> ~~the~~ short post-communion prayer<sup>(giltet in final or a other)</sup>; then the final salutation and Blessing (using 'vns') <sup>1.</sup> ~~accompanied~~ accompanied by the sign of the Cross made thrice.

It will be seen by examination of the MS that much of the traditional cultus is retained, and we are as much surprised by what is retained as by what is omitted. The sacerdotal vestments still remain, as do the holy water, the washing of the hands, the

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1. The text of Schwarz's Mass is reprinted in the 'Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst,' 1896, pp. 4-8.

v. des SMENO: Die erste evangelische Gottesdienst in Hamburg. pp. 18-21.   
 Thubert. pp. 57-9.



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signing<sup>s</sup> with the Cross, the genuflexions, the various movements at the Altar, facing the people for salutations and the East for the prayers (except the canon<sup>?</sup>), the bells, the choir boys, and the virgins. But the confiteor has now become a Confession of sins in which all join. Curiously are omitted the Introit and the Offertory<sup>1</sup> and this was no doubt due to Luther's influence.<sup>1</sup> The prayers are all said, except the private prayers of the priest — and that were retained, — in a loud, clear voice so that all <sup>might</sup> hear.

This liturgy, evangelical in spirit but Catholic in form, is the transition between the definitely Protestant worship <sup>of the Reformed Church</sup> and the Mediaeval worship of the Roman Church. It was produced and used while the Reformation at Strasburg was still under the influence of Luther, but local judgement is also used and Luther's opinions not regarded as final.

During the period of 1525-1539, that is, the time between the <sup>year after the</sup> first translation of the Mass into German at Strasburg and the coming of Calvin to Strasburg as an exile from Geneva, the German Church at Strasburg came more and more under the influence of Bucer, who in many things was a disciple of Zwingli, though by no means an extreme Zwinglianist.

It was to be expected then that the German Mass would gradually be modified and changed, moulded by

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1. Ruchsenhuts does not think that Luther's 'Formula missae' influenced Schwarz, ~~but~~ (op. cit., p. 22), but that opinion is not verified by the evidence. For example, to mention one or two matters only, Luther desired the abolition of the Introit, and the Offertory (with its secrets), and ~~he also wanted for the Mass the Blessing from Numbers~~. In these it would appear Schwarz followed him. At the same time Schwarz does not think that the <sup>missae</sup> came into Schwarz's hands till after he published his vernacular Mass (v. Schmid: Evangel. deutschen Messen, pp. 746, 147.)

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the dominating opinion. This indeed proved to be the case. The service became more and more simplified and more and more congregational. Creed, psalms, and canticles were thrown into metre and set to music which could be sung by the people. New and simpler hymns took the place of the old graduals and sequences. Ceremonial became less and less elaborate. The sacerdotal vestments began to disappear, and the altar candles, ~~and~~ the incense, ~~and~~ the genuflexions and <sup>the</sup> signings with the Cross. Very early, too, the sermon was introduced, and no Scripture was read that was not also explained. These and many more changes follow rapidly one upon the other during these years. In Hubert and Rüksenschütz full details are given; here it will be necessary only to sketch the progress made, while the genealogical bibliography will give a record of the important editions of the Strasburg Service books of the period.

After the appearance of Schwarz's Mass in 1524, there followed in quick succession five other editions in the same year (except possibly the last) <sup>1.</sup> --- A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>3</sup>, A<sup>4</sup>, and B. <sup>2.</sup> During this time, the Introit is restored, the Lavabo appears in some and drops out in others; a wider choice is manifest in the prayers, where in ~~some~~ <sup>B</sup> alternatives are given; Prefaces appear for the festivals of the Church Year;

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1. Rüksenschütz dates it in 1524 on internal evidence of the 7 German Hymns which it contains. But it may have been early in 1525. Cf. HUBERT, p. xii., footnote 2.

2. For minute descriptions of RÜKSENSCHÜTZ, pp. 56-<sup>70</sup>~~57~~. For texts of. HUBERT, pp. 57-77.



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the priest is given the right to choose his own Epistles; and congregational singing is introduced. The ceremonial is simpler, but most of the turnings at the Altar remain. The Scriptural Words of Delivery appear in connection with the Cup, and the adjective "venerabiles" is left out of the Words of Institution; ~~while a text (1 Tim. i. 15)~~ ~~is used in connection with the Absolution.~~ Also in the Intercessions, the prayer for rulers and magistrates comes first, before <sup>the prayers</sup> ~~the~~ for bishops, and priests &c. The doctrine of the Sacrament appears so far, especially in B, to <sup>e</sup>remain unchanged; but many seeds of Protestantism are nevertheless sown, which will bear much fruit in the future. <sup>1.</sup>

The actual order of B may be briefly summarised as follows: It begins with the Invocation ("In namen des vatters vad des sñs vnd des heyligen geists, amen"), a sentence from Psa. c. 5, and a Confession of sins, followed by the Absolution from 1 Tim. i. 15. Then is sung the Introit (# 2 to choose from) concluding with the Gloria Patri, followed by the Kyries and the Gloria in excelsis. Now comes a salutation, the Collect (a choice of 2), and the Epistle and Gospel separated by a Alleluia. After this comes the Nicene Creed or the Apostles' Creed. The elements are then prepared by the priest, and afterwards he addresses to the people a short exhortation, and biddings 1. to silent prayer for the Holy Ghost, and 2. to silent prayer for the priest. Now begins the Consecration Prayer, after a salutation: the Preface (with 5 special Prefaces according to the seasons), the Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, and the lavabo, followed by the canon <sup>2.</sup>

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1. HUBERT, p. lxvii. Here also he suggests other sources to B, besides the A's.

2. Luther in his Deutsche Messe — Formel missae retained only the words of Institution of the canon. At Strasburg the whole canon was retained though gradually changed. The words of Institution were, however, separated from the canon from the 16th c.

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(of which there are 2 to choose from), and the Words of Institution.

Here a "sermon oder gesprech" follows, on the sacrament. After this

comes a prayer for right reception (a choice of 2), and the Lord's

prayer with a short addition; a salutation and the Agnus dei, a

very short exhortation and short prayer; delivery of bread and

wine with words of delivery based on Scripture, and after the com-

munion of the people, follows the communion of the priest. Then

~~comes~~ the Nunc dimittis<sup>1</sup> said by the priest kneeling, after which

follows Luther's hymn "Gott sey gelobet", a salutation and post-

communion prayer (a choice of 2), another salutation, and the Blessing:

(a choice of 2), after which the priest says a short prayer at the

Altar, and the Nunc dimittis follows. No Latin is used in the service,

and all the names<sup>of the parts</sup> and<sup>the</sup> rubrics are translated into the German.

During the year that followed further changes took

place. The Apostles' Creed begins to eust the

<sup>2.</sup> Nicene; the Epistles and Gospels are chosen in an

unbroken series so that Scripture may be read con-

secutively; the singing finds a larger place by

the introduction of music for the singable parts;

the Words of Delivery become purely Biblical; and

psalm-singing is introduced. The Word "priest" is

replaced by "Minister", and "Altar" by "Table",

and the service is called no longer "Mass", but

"The Lord's Supper", while the priest now faces

the people throughout the service according to

primitive usage.<sup>1.</sup> From this time forward, Bucer's

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1. Cf. JUSTIN MARTYR: *Apol.*, chap. lxxv: "Then bread and a cup of wine are brought to the president (proestes)" — the early word 'proestes' suggests that the celebrant faced the people. In the 'Ordo romanus primus' the celebrant stood behind the altar facing the people (Cf. FRERE: *Pal. of Rel. Ceremonial*, pp. 87-81). This position changed during the Middle Ages; Frere discusses the reasons on pp. 88, 84-85. Cf. also Church of St. Peter and St. Paul uncovered at Jerash in April 1929; there it is seen that the celebrant stood behind the altar, with his presbyters around him. The evidence might be multiplied.

2. This was no doubt in part due to Luther's influence in his *Drutche Messe* which shortly appeared, + also to the idea that the Apostles' Creed was heard of from the Apostles themselves. It is possible that its simplicity also made it more acceptable. All Lutheran churches today, including Swedish Churches, use the Apostles' Creed.



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influence was in the ascendancy, and his ideas of liturgical reform prevailed, in which he sought to bring forth again "the old and the eternal".

Bucer describes the Strasburg Service in which his ideas are realised as follows: "So am Sonntag die Gemeinde zusammen kommt, ermahnt sie der Diener zum Bekenntnis der Sünden und um Gnade zu bitten, und beichtet Gott anstatt der ganzen Gemeinde, bittet um Gnade und verkündet den Gläubigen Ablass der Sünden. Darauf singt die ganze Gemeinde etliche kurze Psalmen oder Lobgesänge. Nach dem thut der Diener ein kurzes Gebet und liest der Gemeinde etwas von Apostelschriften und erklärt dasselbe aufs kürzeste. Darauf singt die Gemeinde wieder: die zehn Gebote oder etwas anderes. Alsdann verkündet der Priester das Evangelion und thut die rechte Predigt. Nach dieser singt die Gemeinde die Artikel unseres Glaubens. Darauf thut der Priester für die Obrigkeit und alle Menschen und besonders für die gegenwärtige Gemeinde ein Gebet, in welchem er bittet um Mehrung des Glaubens und der Liebe und Gnade, das Gedächtnis des Todes Christi mit Furcht zu halten. Darauf vernahmet er die, so mit ihm das Nachtmal Christi halten wollen, dass sie solches zum Gedächtnis Christi auch halten wollen, dass sie ihren Sünden abzusterben, ihr Kreuz willig zu tragen und den Nächsten in der Wahrheit zu lieben, in Glauben gestärkt werden, was dann geschehen muss, wann wir mit gläubigen Herzen erwachten, was für unmässige Gnade und Gutthat Christus uns darin bewiesen hat, dass er seinen Leib und Blut am Kreuz für uns dem Vater aufgeopfert hat. Nach dem Vernahmung verkündet er das Evangelion vom Nachtmal Christi, wie es die drei Evangelisten Matthaeus, Marcus und Lucas samt Paulo I Cor. XI beschrieben haben. Darauf teilt der Priester das Brot und den Kelch des Herrn unter sie und genieszt es auch selbst. Alsobald singt die Gemeinde wieder ~~mit~~ einen Lobgesang. Danach beschlieszt der Diener das Nachtmal mit einem kurzen Gebet, segnet das Volk und lässt es im Frieden des Herrn

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hingehen. Dies ist die Weise und der Brauch, mit dem wir nunmehr das  
Nachtstuhl Christi nur noch Sonntags halten."<sup>1.</sup> In the orders  
of 1525, and especially from 1526 onwards, Bucer's  
order of service as he described it was given effect,  
and even further simplifications took place.

From another source, apart from Bucer's description  
and the actual liturgies, we have the description of  
an eyewitness in the year 1525. Gerard Roussel  
wrote in December of that year a letter to Nicholas  
Le Sueur, Bishop of Meaux, of which we quote a part.<sup>2.</sup>  
First we are informed that nothing is said or sung  
which is not intelligible to all, that all that is  
said and done is founded upon the Scriptures, and that  
they themselves are simply explained without resorting  
to allegory, while everything is free of merely human  
invention. Then he proceeds to describe the Sunday  
Morning Service: "Dominico die, quem solum festum reliquerunt,  
adhuc autem ut liberum sit in eo operari (sed servi at ancillae ad opus  
cogi non possunt), celebrant coenam dominicam, et hac quidem forma:  
Mensa prestat in patenti loco templi (it was not necessary to move ~~the~~  
the altars, <sup>in all the churches,</sup> of course, to bring this about; it depended upon the church  
itself<sup>3.</sup>), ut ab omnibus conspici possit; altare non vocant, quod non  
nisi illis tale quiddam putetur qui ex Christi coena sacrificium fecerunt;

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1. BUCER: Grund und Ursach, chapt. ii., quoted by HUPERT: Strass.Lit.Ord.  
pp. lxxix-lxx.

At the last Bucer mentions that in this way Communion is celebrated weekly.  
This also was in accord with primitive usage—of JUSTIN MARTYR: Apol. lxxvii:  
"We all make our reunion on the day of the sun". Cf. also FORTESCUE: The Mass:  
p. 21, and Pliny's letter to Trajan: "They meet together on a certain day  
(statu die)"—"the 'status dies' is certainly Sunday", says Fortescue (op.  
cit., p. 17. Other evidence might easily be assembled.

2. HERMINJARD: Correspondance, i., pp. 409-415. Letter 168.

3. "Der Altar, an dem viel mittelalterlicher Aberglaube hing, hat den Tisch weichen  
lassen, der den Liturgen den Volke äusserlich und innerlich näher gedrückt hat...  
Allerdings war nach Putzers Schrift die Aufrichtung solcher Tische nur in et-  
lichen Kirchen erfolgt, an denen die Aenderung notwendig oder ratsam erschien."  
HUPERT: op.cit., p. lxx.



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tamen nihil distat a vulgatis altaribus. Ad mensam illam accedit minister, sic tamen ut faciem conversam ad plebem habeat et non posterius, qui nos hactenus servatus fuit à sacerdotibus sacrificiis, qui, veluti quandam Dei speciem prae se ferentes, sua populo posteriora conspicienda, non etiam faciem, operae precium ducebant. Assidens mensae, facie versa ad populum, in quem totius populi oculi concurrant, primum quasdam preces ex Scriptura depromptas pronit, idque paucis; deinde psalmus quidam ab omnibus canitur; quo absolute, et nonnullis adhuc precibus per ministrum fuis, conscendit cathedram, et primum legit Scripturam, cunctis intelligentibus, quam explicare vult. Deinde eandem fusius explicat, ascitis aliis Scripturae locis in hanc rem facientibus, sic tamen ut analogia fidei servetur, et nihil adferat quod non ad fidem et asseclam charitatem dirigatur. Absolute sermone, ad mensam redit, canitur symbolum ab omnibus; quo peracto, patefacit plebi, in quem usum Christus suam nobis reliquerit coenam, paucis retegens beneficium mortis Christi et effusi in cruce sanguinis; deinde verba Christi recens<sup>2</sup>it, uti scripta sunt ab evangelistis vel Paule; deinde impartit iis qui accedere volunt: (nam nemo cogitur, invitatur tamen omnes) panem et vinum, vera corporis et sanguinis Christi symbola, in suae mortis recordationem, a se relictis suis apostolis. Dum fit communio et suam quisque coenae portionem accipit, canitur ab omnibus kyrie eleeson (i. e., Luther's hymn, 'Gott sey gelobet'), hoc veluti hymno agentibus gratias pro accepto beneficio. Sic tamen communio fit, ut postremus sumat minister, adeoque quod superfuerit.<sup>1</sup> Hoc peracto, in suam quisque domum se recipit."

From this time onwards, the Holy Scriptures, taken as the norm, influence in an increasing measure, the manner of exhortation, ~~and~~ prayer.

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1. For order of communication <sup>4</sup>cf. p. 164 of this thesis.

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and address throughout. The Lord's prayer is completed by the use of its doxology; the Words of Institution and of Delivery appear in the Pauline form, and the Blessing from Numbers comes to be exclusively used taking the place of other unscriptural forms. More and more, congregational singing occupies a greater place, psalms and hymns finding an increasing popularity; and the popular intreat becomes a psalm, the choice of which is left to the presiding Minister. An unhappy development was the dropping altogether of the Epistle (and the explanation that went with it), so that only the Gospel<sup>1.</sup> remained, and it came to be read at length, depending upon the number of verses to be preached from. The idea of selecting Readings according to the Church Year (except for the main festivals) disappeared, and the Gospel was now read consecutively, continuing from where it was left off on the Sunday previous. At the other services, the OT and the remainder of the NT were studied. Also a wider choice came to be presented in the prayers, and curiously, each new prayer composed as a new choice grew in length and tediousness,<sup>1.</sup> till they must have become wearisome in the extreme. The danger of the movement was the breaking away from the primitive simplicity which lay beneath the old Roman forms<sup>3.</sup> and ceremonial into a diffuse verbosity which would soon cease, when the enthusiasm of the new days began to

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1. Cf. the text of these in HUPERT: *op. cit.*, pp. 88-114. Cf. also for a résumé of changes pp. lxx-lxxii, and *Nichenschütz* throughout.

2. Later it was displaced for any passage in the NT, as we see in Ballan's *lit. sac.*, and the compilers of the 1856 went a step further, and permitted any portion of Scripture to be chosen (as long as a consecutive course was followed) to be read & explained.

3. v. Bishop's Essay on 'The Early Roman Rite' in 'Liturgica historica'.



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burn out, to interest and attract,—as was the case in the next century when Protestantism continued at a low ebb till the revivals of the <sup>late</sup> 18th century. At the same time, the people were given a new place in the worship, congregational song was introduced, and careful and consecutive teaching of the Word of God was attempted on a large and thorough scale.

From the beginning, in Strasburg, worship was conducted from the Altar or Lord's Table, and such also was the case in the French Church at Strasburg. This appears from the rubric in L and N where we read that during the singing of the second Table of the Commandments, the Minister goes to the pulpit. In Pullain's Lit. sac. 1551, (P), the rubric tells us that the Minister goes to the pulpit during the third singing. <sup>1.</sup> Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials corroborates this. Whether the prayer after the sermon was said at the Table if communion was not celebrated is not certainly to be determined, <sup>2.</sup> but later the habit grew of remaining in the pulpit for it. Further evidence of the practice of conducting worship from the Table in the French Church at Strasburg as well as in the German one, is supplied by a letter from a young Walloon student from Strasburg in 1545-<sup>2.</sup> In it he says, describing the Service in the French Church there; "Chela faict (i.e. the singing of the 2nd Table of the Decalogue) et accompli, le ministre (Jean Garnier,

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1. Vol. 11. pp. 242-243.

2. The full letter is printed in ERICHSON: L'Eglise française de Strasbourg, pp. 21-28. I quote from pp. 22-23.

3. In the German church at Strasburg the Minister returned to the Table for the Prayer. Cf. Deutsche Liturgie in Habicht p. 99. & of this there is p. 111.

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successor to Pierre Brully) se met à genoul devant (i.e., behind, with the Table between Minister and people) une table de bois faicte à manier d'un autel, lequel nest point paret sincoz quant on celebre la Sainte cene de nostre Seigneur Jesus Chryst, laquelle se celebre tous les quinze iours... Le dict autel es mis quasy au milieu de leglise là où le ministre est, ainsy que vous ay dit, la face envers le peuple, faisant prieres pour le peuple en langue maternelle, hault et cler, que chascun l'entent. l'oraison accomplie, il monte en la chaire et faict la predication." In Geneva, <sup>in the French Church</sup> Erichson <sup>1.</sup> tells us that the service was conducted (except the preaching) from the front of the chancel. ~~and~~ In the English congregation in 1556, it is likely that the old Catholic and true Calvinistic principles were abandoned, and the worship as well as the preaching was conducted from the pulpit. At the same time, such a movement was natural at this <sup>period.</sup> ~~time~~. It began because the Minister could not be effectively heard from the Table. In the old Church, where the ability to follow the service did not depend upon hearing the priest, but upon seeing him and following with the eyes the various movements as the ceremonial progressed, it mattered little whether the priest could be heard or not at the altar. But as the Reformation progressed, all depended upon the spoken word, and it was essential that it be clearly audible if the service were to be intelligently followed. It therefore became necessary for the Minister to stand in a place where he could be heard, <sup>2.</sup> so that in the end the service gravitated to the pulpit. There is a hint of its

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1. ERICHSON: Gottesdienstordnung, p. 15. The sermon, we are told, was about one and a half hours long.

2. In some of the old churches, built for a ceremonial service, the acoustics from the Holy Table would be very bad:— especially would this be so in the larger churches. Thus, if it became a tradition through necessity to leave the Holy Table for the pulpit in the larger churches, it would in time naturally become the practice in the smaller churches, not for any arbitrary reason, but as a result of practical necessity.



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having been mooted even as early as 1533, when Bucer at the Synod of the Strasburg Ministers suggested that "die offene Schuld mit folgender tröstung und Absolution auf der Canzel vorzusprechen, damit sie alles Volk höre und sich dareb bessern möchte, welches jetzund nit geschehen kann, so man dieses bey dem tische verrichtet."<sup>1</sup> We see a hint of the same reason in Knox's 'Practies of the Lorde's Supper yewsed in Barvike-upon-Twyed'<sup>2</sup> where the reason is given that the Minister remains in the pulpit so that he may be easily seen (and heard). The old tradition, however, did not easily disappear; for in England some of the Puritans at least continued to conduct worship from the Holy Table,<sup>3</sup> according to the true Calvinistic use and custom.

Enough has been said to show the true descent<sup>4</sup> and nature of the Order for Sunday Morning Worship in the FP, 1556. It is in reality a simplification of the old 'Missa catechumenorum', descended directly from the Mass through the Strasburg Reform. It is a greatly simplified<sup>weakened</sup> version, but the tradition is kept. It is the same service as that which is prescribed in the BCP, 1552, (and editions following) in the first rubric after Communion, which is as

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1. ERICHSON: op.cit., p. 15.

2. LORIMER: Knox & the Church of England, p. 290.

3. RAIRD: On liturgies, p. 140.

4. Further details of the descent of the parts of the service will be found in the footnotes.

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follows: "Vp<sup>5</sup> the holy dayes, yf there be no Communion, shalbe sayde all that is appoynted at the Communion, vntyl the ende of the Homilie, concluding with the general prayer, for the whole state of Christes church militant here in earth: and one or moe of these collectes before rehearsed, as occasyon shal serue."<sup>1.</sup> Legg points out that common sense can only interpret this rubric as referring to a service similar to and of the same nature as the Mediaeval 'Missa sicca' or the primitive 'Missa catechumenorum',<sup>2.</sup> and that is no doubt the only reasonable view. To argue with Frere that it refers to a service of another sort is merely to quibble.<sup>3.</sup> Also, although long since abandoned,<sup>5.</sup> and in these latter days replaced in the Church of England in practice by High Mass, there is evidence that once it was used in Parker's day in Canterbury Cathedral, for Strype records that "The Communion Prayer daily through the Year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table, standing North and South, where the High Altar did stand. The Minister standing on the East side of the Table with his Face toward the People. The Holy Communion is ministred ordinarily the first Sunday of the month through the year."<sup>4.</sup> That was precisely the service on

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1. A similar rubric was in the book of 1549. <sup>V</sup> BRIGHMAN: Eng. Rite, II. p. 714.

2. LEGG: Three chpts. in Recent Liturgical Research, pp. 46-52.

3. LEGG: ibid.

4. STRYPE: Parker, p. 133. The edition here quoted (named in the bibliog.) says "Canon Prayer", where I have written "Communion Prayer" above, but the mistake in this edition is due to a misprint or careless editing of the original MS, which is still in the British Museum. I have followed it in writing "Communion Prayer" as above. In this connection of. also Legg: ibid.

5. Except in a few country churches.



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Sunday Mornings in the FP, 1556, save that that of 1556 is greatly simplified,<sup>1.</sup> and impoverished.

The Sunday Morning Service of 1556, then, was in fact a simplified version derived through Calvin of the 'Missa sicca' of Mediaevalism, or, more accurately, the 'Missa catechumenorum' of the primitive Church. Lacheret, in two articles in the Revue chrétienne, Oct. and Nov. 1886, has drawn attention to the similarity of the worship in the third century and Calvin's Sunday Morning <sup>Service</sup>,<sup>2.</sup> and in view of the connection which has been demonstrated in this chapter, ~~that~~<sup>it</sup> is no idle or merely fanciful parallel. In the third century he points out that worship was something of this order:

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1. This fact does not seem to have been fully realised by British scholars, although SPROTT nearly said it in his Wor. & Off., when he urged that "the introduction of the intercessions after the sermon keeps the ordinary service in harmony with that of a Communion Sunday, and is a testimony, as Calvin meant it to be, for the Lord's Supper as part of the complete service of the House of God". (p.15). Sprott always argued for this order, but he was opposed in it by Dr. ~~James~~ Cameron Lees of St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, whose counsel to bring the Scottish services into a closer relationship with the BCP Morning and Evening Prayer by placing the Intercessions after the Scripture Readings, as with the Collects at Morning Prayer, prevailed. Dr. Sprott spoke with a deeper liturgical knowledge, and it is a loss that his counsel did not prevail.

The tradition, of course, was broken in the West. Dir., which was an attempt to provide a working basis upon which the Church of England and Scotland and Ireland could unite. It was a hopeless ideal for that day. In the attempt, however, liturgical principles were thrown to the winds, and (in spite of the protest of the Scottish consultants that the Intercessions follow the sermon as in the BCO) the well-known compromise was arrived at, whereby the Great Prayer was cut in two and a part placed before the sermon and a part after it. To attempt to shorten it, by having two shorter prayers was all to the good; but the same end could have been achieved in other ways, and the tradition kept. But as a matter of fact the whole matter was in the hands of men, who for the most part, were in no way concerned with liturgical principles or traditions, and who were concerned only in arriving at a working basis of union on Puritan lines. The result was liturgically, so far as the Sunday morning service is concerned, a ~~very~~ unhappy one.

2. Compare Lacheret's description of 3rd century worship with Bishop's description of the early Roman Rite in Liturgica historiae, chapter on 'The Genius of the Roman Rite'.

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(1) Confession of sins and Kyries, (2) Singing of Psalms<sup>1</sup> (3) Prophecy or Epistle, (4) Another singing from the Psalms, (5) Gospel, (6) Homily or Sermon, (7) Catechumens' Prayers. If we collapse the Readings and sermon, and cease to insist upon their always being chosen from the Epistles or Gospels, we have precisely what is in Calvin. To that the Creed was added, but the Apost<sup>les</sup>~~les~~, not the Nicene.

Lacheret proceeds to trace the growth of the mediaeval accretions (due in many cases to pagan influences); and the falling off of preaching from Constantine's time onwards is also noted. He then shows how the Reformers sought to recover the ancient simplicity, not behaving as mere innovators, but as faithful trustees of the catholic tradition, preserving the ancient scope and order. And while it may be unhappily true to say that some of the later Reformers were not concerned about the Catholic tradition, it is grossly unfair to suggest that of Calvin; ~~that~~ that tradition is <sup>faithfully</sup> kept in his own orders, and wittingly or unwittingly in the orders of those who copied him.

It is true that Calvin's theory and wishes were more completely ~~and~~ Catholic than his practice. Again and again he was forced to bow before iconoclastic Magistrates and untutored public opinion; M. Doumergue has made this clear in his pages dealing with Calvin's "moderation".<sup>2</sup> But Calvin in the Preface to the Communion Service in his La Forme of 1545 (N), makes it irrefutably certain that it was his intention to perpetuate the

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1. The Gloria in excelsis was a later addition. CARROL: Lit. Prayer, p. 103.

2. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii., pp. 500-503.



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## INTRODUCTION TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

best and the Catholic in the old tradition. I quote from his Preface: "Nous commençons..... par la confession de nos peches et adioutons les lecons de la Loy et de l'Evangile... et apres nous sommes asseurez que comme Iesus Christ a la iustice et la vie en soy, et qu'il vit pour le Pere: Ainsi nous sommes iustes en Iesus Christ et vivons en nouvelle vie par iceluy Iesus Christ. Afin donques que nous consideriens ces choses avec plus grande diligence et que nous soyons rendus plus ardans...., nous adioustions tresbien avecques Pseaumes, et Hymnes de louange, la lecture de L'Evangile, la confession de la Foy, et les sainctes oblations et effrandes:...et... excitez et esmeuz par la lecture et explication de L'Evangile, et la confession de nostre Foy..., il s'ensuyt que nous devons faire oraison pour le salut de tous les hommes (pource que la vie de Iesus Christ doit estre grandement enflammée en nous). Or la vie de Christ consiste en cecy, c'est à sçavoir, chercher ce qui est perdu et le sauver. A bon droit donques on prie pour tous les estatz. Et pource que nous recevons vrayement Iesus Christ en ce Sacrement, à bonne cause nous l'adorons en esprit et verité: et recevons l'eucharistie avecques grande reverence et parachevons tout ce mistere avecques louanges et action de graces. Ainsi donques tout l'ordre et la rayson d'administration d'icelle, aussi avec l'administration de l'Eglise ancienne des Apostres, des Martirs et des saintz Peres."<sup>1</sup> It is true that Calvin's Genevan Liturgy at least did not realise his ideal, but the above Preface shows the tradition in which he stood. The Forme of Prayers &c., of 1556 stands in the same tradition. As Lacheret writes, "Il peut et doit être amélioré; il n'a pas besoin d'être transformé."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Calv. Opera, pp. 194-196, vol. VI. This Preface applies equally to his Sunday Morning Service, which was the same in order and content, save that Communion was not celebrated. Calvin's own wish was weekly Communion. Cf. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii. p. 504.

2. The concluding sentence of his paper.



## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

1. When the cōgregation is assembled, at the houre appointed, the minister vseth one of these two confessions, or lyke in effect: exhorting the people diligētly, to examine thēselues, following in their hartes the tenor of his words.

1. Quam primū in Ecclesiam hora CONSTI-  
TUTA conuenitur, minister vel hanc  
ex Daniele confessionem, vel subse-  
quentem, aut aliam saltem in hanc  
sententiam, clara voce pro cōsue-  
recitat, singulos inter ea exher-  
tās, vt intenta pectoris cogitatione,  
his assultent ac ruminent, quae ex  
se sunt audituri.

A CONFESSION OF OVR SYNNE, FRAMED

CONFESSIO QVAEDAM AD DEVM PRO PECCATIS

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1. At this period, the service in Geneva evidently began in this way, though later in both England and Scotland a reader's service was, <sup>later</sup> prefixed to it, as we shall see.

PULLAIN's form of 1554 began with the singing of the Ten Commandments in metre, after which followed the sentence, "Adiutorum nostrum in nomine Domini..." and a brief bidding to confession, and then the Confession of sins. His rubric was as follows: "Die dominico mane hora octava, cum iam adest populus, Praeceptor incipit clara voce, LEVE LE CUEVR (Est decalogus rithmo reditus), ac populus accinit cum modestia et grauitate summa, vt ne quid voluptati aurium, sed seruiant omnia reuerentiae Dei, et aedificationi, tam camentium, quam au-  
dientium, si qui fortasse adsint non canentes. Cum absoluerint, tum vnus ex ministris e suggestu sic incipit: Adiutorium nostrum.... Deinde clara et distincta voce populum admonet de confessione peccatorum, hisque verbis praecit. Fratres, cogitet nunc vestrum vnusquisque, se coram Deo sisti, vt peccata et delicta sua omnia simpliciter animo confitentur atque apud vosmetipsos se praecuntem sequimini his verbis..."

CALVIN's Genevan form (1542) begins simply with a Scripture sentence, and a bidding to confession, followed by the Confession of sins, and here Hayske's translation follows him exactly. This is Calvin's 1542 rubric: "Pour les Dimanches au matin, on use communement de la forme qui s'ensuit. MESTRE aide seit au Nom de Dieu, qui a faict le Ciel et la terre, Amen. Mes freres, qu'un chascun de vous se presente devant la Face du Seigneur, avec confession de ses fautes et pechez suyuant de son coeur mes parelles..."

PULLAIN's earlier edition, 1551, which is almost identical with Calvin's rite while at Strasburg, begins with the singing of the Ten Cds in metre, the first Table only, during which time the Minister comes to the Lord's Table, and facing the people, calls to confession after a short Ser. sentence. After the Absolution, the second Table is sung, and then follows a short prayer that these laws may be written upon the people's hearts, and so to the Scripture and sermon.

CALVIN's 1545 ed. which represents his Strasburg rite, is very similar, save that the Confession comes first, then the first Table of the Cds, followed by the prayer that they may be engraved upon our hearts, then the second Table, during which the Minister goes from the Communion Table to the pulpit to read and preach.

The FP, here, it will be seen, follows the most simplified Genevan tradition, even going further and omitting the introductory Ser. sentence. This may have been used, but it is not mentioned. It is found occasionally in later Puritan practice. (RAIRD: On Liturgies. p.141.) (Cf. also rubric below.)

In the rubric added in the Puritan editions of the FP (e.g. 1586, 1587, 1602) we see the beginning of the practice of adding a readers service, which is really an extreme simplification of Morning Prayer, the collects, responses, and canticles being withdrawn, and only the Psalms and Readings remaining. But it is quite possible and probable that it was introduced because of the influence of Morning Prayer, and also because of the practice of having a shortened form of Morning Prayer before the Communion Service. The rubric is as follows: "Upon the days appointed for the preaching of the word, when a convenient number of the people are come together, that they may make fruit of their presence till the assembly be full, one appointed by the Eldership shall read some chapters of the canonical books of Scripture, singing Psalms between at his discretion: and this reading to be in order as the books and chapters follow, that so from time to time the holy Scriptures may be read throughout. But upon special occasion, special chapters may be appointed. When the hour appointed for the sermon is come, beginning with these words, Our help be in the name of the Lord, who hath made both heaven and earth; used after the Confession following, or the like in effect, saying to the people, Let us fall down before the majesty of Almighty God, humbly confessing our sins, and follow in your hearts the tenor of my words." (HALL: RML.Lit., 17).

In Scotland a similar custom arose from 1580 onwards, and Readers were appointed for this purpose: "To the Kirkis quhair no ministeris can be had presentlie, must be appointed the most apt men, that distinctlie can read the Commone Prayeris and the Scripturis." (LAING: KW, ii. 195-6). Later, under the Ninth Head, "Concerning the Poleic of the Church", prayers and sermons are held to be necessary, but the singing of Psalms and the reading of Scripture not "of mere necessitie". Nevertheless, Scripture reading in the churches is to be encouraged, and in great Towns, "we think it expedient that euerie day their be eathir Sermon or else Common Prayeris, with some exercise of reiding the Scripturis" (Op.cit., ii. 238). So was the foundation laid, and the practice derived from it is described by COWPER, Bishop of Galloway, in his Seven Days' Conference between a Catholic Christian and a Catholic Roman, written between 1618 and 1619. We quote the pertinent part:

"R. What is this the people are going to do?

C. They bow them selues before the Lord, to make an humble confession of their sins and supplications for mercy; which you will hear openly read out by the public Reader....



THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 1.<br>to our tyme, out of the 9. chap.<br>of Daniel. | 1.<br>condenandis, temporibus accommodata,<br>iuxta illam Danielis formam capite<br>nono descriptam. |
| <br>O LORD God which arte mightie,                   |  |
| and dreadful, thou that kepest couen-                | DOMINE Deus, magne,  |
| ant, and shewest mercie to theym that                | & formidabilis, qui seruas foedus  |
| loue thee, and do thy commaundementes:               | & beneficentiam erga diligētes   |
| we haue synned, we haue offended,                    | Peccauimus, & iniqui fuimus,   |
| we haue wickedly, and stubburnely                    | impiè egimus &   |
| gone backe, frome thy lawes, and                     | desciuimus à praeceptis &  |
| preceptes. We wolde neuer obey thy                   | iudiciis tuis. Neque obediuimus  |
| seruantes the Prophetes, that spake                  | seruis tuis Prophetis, qui tuo   |
| in thy name, to our kinges and                       | nomine locuti sunt ad Reges nostros,   |
| prinees, to our forefathers, and                     | Principes nostros, & Patres nostros, &   |
| to all the people of our lande.                      | ad totum populum terrae nostrae.   |
| *****  |  |

Footnote continued from preceding page.

Every one is preparing (as you see) their Psalm-Book, that all of them with one heart and mouth, may sing unto the Lord....

R. ... What doth the Reader now—is he making another prayer?

G. No. Yonder book, which now he opens, is the Bible... These are the three exercises which are used in all our congregations every Sabbath, one hour before the Preacher comes in: First Prayer, then Psalms, then reading of the Holy Scriptures; and by these the hearts of the people are prepared more reverently to hear the word....

The preaching being ended, he concludes with a Thanksgiving (i.e. the thanksgiving and Intercession after sermon as in the FP); after which there is a Psalm sung by the whole congregation, and then the Minister blesseth the people in the name of the Lord, and so dimits them." (COWPER: Works, p. 839—quoted by SPROTT: RCO, pp. xxiii-xxiv.)

Also in a suggested revision of the RCO by Howatt (a moderate), date about 1616, entitled 'A Form of Service to be used in all the parish churches of Scotland upon the Sabbath Day, by the Readers where there are any established, or where there are no Readers by the Ministers themselves before they go to Sermon' there is the following rubric: "This Prayer (a prayer for God's blessing upon the Sabbath) ended, then let there be read a Chapter of the Gospel, and another of the Epistles, as they shall by course." [Cf. SPROTT's reprint in Scot. Lits. in the reign of Jas VI., 1871 ed., p. 124]. COWPER's proposed revision a little later also contains Scripture Readings, with a table (Op.cit.).

In 1685 similar witness is borne by SIR W. FRERETON, an English Puritan visiting Edinburgh, and describing the worship there as follows: "The Order that is observed in the worship of God is this: Upon the Lord's Day they do assemble betwixt 8 and 9 in the morning, and spend the time in singing Psalms and reading chapters in the OT until about 10." Then the preacher comes to the pulpit, prays and preaches &c. "The afternoon's exercise, which begins soon after 1 is performed in the same manner.... save the chapters then read out of the NT, and they conclude about 4." (Travels, pp. 109-110) (quoted by SPROTT: RCO, pp. xxv-xxvi.)

HENDERSON in his Order and Govt. of the Ch. of Scotd. writing in 1641 to correct certain misconceptions in England regarding Scottish worship, describes the first part of the Sunday morning service in these words: "When so many of all sorts.... are assembled, the public worship beginneth with prayer and reading some portion of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and of the New, which the people hear with attention and reverence; and after reading, the whole Congregation joineth in singing some Psalm. This reading and singing do continue till the preaching begin." (quoted by SPROTT: RCO, p. xxx.)

Thus the testimony is universal that some kind of a Reader's service came to be placed before the preaching service outlined in the RCO. No doubt the influence of the RCP of 1552, which was used in Scotd in many congregations before 1560 (MACMILLAN: Thesis, pp. 47sq.), had much to do with this. Morning Prayer was actually continued in practice, but it was shorn of all except the Readings, and even then the Tables of Lessons were not generally used, if at all, but the purpose of the Lessons was continued, namely, the reading through from year to year of the OT and NT in the ears of the people. It should be observed, however, that this later development in England and Scotland was not an internal change in the order of the FP, but it was an external addition, and quite separate, just as the abbreviated form of Morning Prayer used in many Anglican Churches before the Communion Service does not in any way belong to the Eucharist.

1. MACMILLAN (Thesis, p. 78) states that this prayer of confession is derived from Pullain, but there is no evidence for that view, nor is such a prayer to be found in any of Pullain's Liturgies. The idea of composing it likely was derived from A Lasco's direction in his service framed for public calamities in the 1550 edn. of his Forma oratio; where he enjoins the following: "Hæc ita pro contione attinguntur, in deo ieiunio publico, publicaeq; supplicationi destinato, propter praesentem aliquam quam aut impendentem etiam publicam Re-



## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

O lord rightuousnes belongeth vnto thee, vnto vs perteyneth nothing but open shame, as it ys come to passe this day, vnto our miserable contry of England, yea vnto all our nation whether they be farre, or nere, through all landes, wherein they are scattered for the offences that they and we haue committed against thee: so that the curses and ponishmentes which are wryten in thy lawe, are nowe powred vpon vs, and thou hast perfourmed those wordes wherwith thou didest menace vs and our rulers, that gouerned vs, in bringinge the same plagues vpon vs which before were threatened.

And yet notwithstandinge

bothe they, and we procede in our iniquitie, and

sease not to heape synne vpon synne.

Tibi quidem Domine, tribuenda est iustitia, nobis autem pudor, sicuti euenit hodie ter miserandae nostrae Angliae, atque nobis omnibus tam remotis, quam propinquis, in omnibus terris ad quas expulisti nos, ob defectionem, qua defecimus à te. Quare defluxit in nos execratio & iuramentū in Lege tua scriptum. Itaque re exhibuisti omnia quae prius comminatus es ac locutus ad nos & iudices nostros.

Et tamen quantumvis sic afflicti, nihil adhuc correctiores reddimur, quin vniuersi pariter in coepto iniquitatis itinere pergimus: offensas offensis congerie quasi quadam cumulates.

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Footnote continued from preceding page.

10. olesiae calamitatem aut necessitatem: quibus absolutis hortatur Ecclesiastes totam Ecclesiam ad feriam atque ardentem nominis Diuini, pro omnibus Ecclesiae necessitatibus, inuocationem, precumbentem; in genus tota Ecclesia, orditur conspectas Ecclesiae preces publicas: atque ijs interserit ~~pro~~ preces, pro depellenda calamitate illa, cuius nomine instituta publica supplicatio, ad eius imitationem, quae habetur Danielis nono cap. cum peccatorum confessione. "A Laseo apparently did not compose such a prayer, but the confession above is an original composition of the compilers of the PP. Undoubtedly, however, it was from him that they caught the idea; and it specially suited their case for they were exiled from their own Church and nation because of the 'public calamity' of Mary's accession and Edward's death. Therefore they placed this prayer before the other confession—it was more suited to their present estate. Farther, from the time of Edward's death Knox, at least, had regarded that calamity as a direct result of national sin, as is seen by the confession added in 1554, to his 'A Declaration of the true Nature and Object of Prayer' (1553), (LAING: Knox, iii. pp. 106-107.)" cap.

Quoted below are the pertinent verses in the ninth chapter of Daniel, from which the Confession of Sins is derived. The quotation here is from the A.V., but the compilers would have had before them the original Hebrew. The A.V., however, though later than the prayer above suffices to show the derivation.

"4. And I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments; 5. We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judgements: 6. Neither have we hearkened to thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, our fathers, and to all the people of the land. 7. O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against thee... 11.. therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him. 12. And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil... 16. O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away... 18. O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for great mercies. 19. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name." cap.

Daniel ix.

This Confession was omitted in the editions from 1562 onwards.



SUNDAY  
THE MORNING SERVICE

For they which once were well instructed in the doctrine of thy gospel, are nowe gone backe from the obedience of thy trueth, and are turned agayne to that moste abominable Idolatrie, from the which they were once called by the lyuely preachinge of thy worde.

And we alas, to this day do <sup>not</sup> earnestly repent vs of our former wickednes, neither do we rightly consider, the heauynes of thy displeasure.

Such is thy iuste iudgements (o lord) that thou ponishes synne by synne, and man by his owne inuentions, so that there can be no ende of iniquitie, except thou preuent vs with thy vndermerued grace.

Therefore conuert vs (o lord) and we shalbe conuerted: for we do not offer vp our prayers trustinge in our owne righteousnes, but in thy manifolde mercies. And althoghe thou hast once of thy especial grace deliuered vs from the miserable thraldome of error and blindnes, and called vs many tymes, to the swet libertie of thy gospell which we notwithstandinge haue moste shamefully abused, in obeinge rather our owne lustes, and affections, then the admonitions of thy prophetes: yet we beseeche thee once agayne

for thy nams sake, to powre some comfortable droppe of thy accustomed mercies vpon vs: incline thyne eares, and open thyne eyes, to beholde the greuous plagues of our contrie, the continuall sorrowes of our afflicted brethren, and our wefull banishment.

And let our afflictions and iuste punishmente be an admonition and warninge to other nations, amongst whome we are skattered that with all reuerence they may obey thy holy gospell: lest for like contempte, in the ende, like

Quos enim aliquando salutaris Evangelii tui praedicatio, voluntatis tuae obedientia felicissimè imbuerat, hi nunc inuersis nescio quo pacto rerum vicibus, relapsi, in turpissimam idolothresciae foeditatem aguntur.

Nec quisquam est tamen (proh dolor) qui seria ductus poenitudine, vel errores suos, vel horrendae irae tuae gravitatem, ritè, atque vt par est, perpèdat. Haec illa iustissima tua sunt iuditia, Domine Deus, vt peccata peccatis, hominèsq; suis ipsorum placitis, ac figmentis plectas: ita vt nullus futurus sit peccandi finis, nisi praesentanea tua nobis minimè promerentibus gratia subueniat.

Conuerte nos Domine, & cōuertemur. Nos enim in precibus nostris quas effundimus coram te allegamus nostram iustitiam, sed tuam profusissimam misericordiam. Licètque antehac propensissima tua erga nos indulgētia, charissime Deus, ingratissimi filii abusi sumus, qui toties Prophetarum tuorum vocibus ad Evangelii tui libertatem prouocati, & ab erroribus aliquando tandem reuocati: nostris tamen affectibus, quàm tuae voluntati parere maluimus:

ne prorsus tamen nos eiectos velis, atque aliqua saltē solitae misericordiae tuae aura iterum nobis aspiret, precamur. Adhibe Deus noster aurem tuam vt audias, & aperi oculos tuos vt respicias aegrumnas ac ruinas patriae nostrae, fratrumque lugubres genitus, nostrumque hoc tristissimum exilium.

Daque has nostras calamitates esse caeteris nationibus documēto, in quas dispergimur, quo nostris malis admoniti, obsequentius tuo Evangelio acquiescāt: ne ob similē verbi tui contemptum, paria

## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

or wourse plagues fall vpon theym.  
 Wherfore o lord heare vs, o lord  
 forgiue vs, o lord consider and tary  
 not ouer longe, but  
 for thy deare sonne Iesus Christe sake,  
 be mercifull vnto vs, and delyuer vs.  
 So shall it be knowne to all the  
 worlde, that thou only arte  
 the selfe same God, that euer sheweth  
 mercie, to all suche, as call vpon thy  
 holy name.

aut maiora damna luant.  
 Domine audito, Domine  
 clemens esto, Domine attendito, fer  
 open, & nimum differas: verum  
 ob dilectum filium tuum Iesum promptae  
 misericordiae tuae nobis succurrat pa-  
 trocinium, quo vniuerso orbi innotes-  
 cat te solum ac perpetuo  
 eundem esse Deum, qui hos nunquam destituas,  
 qui sacrosanctum nomen tuum inuecant,  
 Amen.

AN OTHER CONFESSION FOR ALL  
states and tymes.ALTERA CONFITENDI RATIO AD OMNES  
hominum ordines ac tempore  
ex aequo pertinens.

O ETERNAL God and moste mercifull  
 father, we confesse, and acknowlage,  
 here before thy diuine maiestie, that  
 we are miserable synners,  
 conceyued and borne in synne and ini-  
 quitie, so that in vs there is no good-  
 nes. For the fleshe euermore rebelleth  
 against the spirite,  
 wherby we continually transgresse thy  
 holy preceptes, and commaundementes,  
 and so purchase to our selues, through  
 thy iust iudgement, death and damnation.  
 Notwithstandinge, (o heavenly father)  
 forasmuche as we are displeased with  
 our selues for the synnes, that we  
 haue committed against thee, and do  
 vnfaynedly repent vs of the same;  
 we moste humbly beseeche thee, for Ie-  
 sus Christes sake, to shewe thy mercie  
 vpon vs, to forgiue vs all our synnes,  
 and to increase thy holy spirite in  
 vs: that we acknowlaginge, from the  
 botome of our hartes, our owne vn-  
 rightuousnes, may from hensforth, not

MISERI & abiecti homunculi ceram te  
 aeterne Deus, ac totius misericordiae  
 pater agnoscimus ac confitemur nostra  
 flagita & infinita scelera, quae quo-  
 tidie aduersus te perpetramus, tamquam hi,  
 qui in iniquitate concepti & nati per-  
 petud malum designare non desinimus.  
 Caro enim aduersus spiritum relucta-  
 tur, adeoque ad vitia nos vrget ac im-  
 pellit, vt tua saluberrima praecepta  
 transilientes,  
 poenas sempiternas merito nobis  
 accersimus.  
 Attamen mirissime Pater,  
 quum nos nostri taedeat  
 ac scelerum  
 in te  
 nostrorum poeniteat,  
 te suppliciter obseruamus,  
 nostri vt miserearis,  
 nobisque condones,  
 & Spiritum tuum sanctum indies intra nos  
 adaugeas,  
 quo miseriae nostrae sensum  
 non solum persentiscamus,

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## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

onely mortifie our sinfull lustes      veruetiā carnis affectibus  
and affections, but also bringe      exuti, fructus eximios, tibiq; grates  
forth such frutes, as may be agre-      proferam'.  
1.  
able to thy moste blessed wyl,

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1. The Confession this far is based on PULLAIN, HUYCKE, and CALVIN, for while all are fundamentally the same Confession, there are slightly differing turns of phrase in each, and from all these the compilers here borrowed, not hesitating also to introduce parallel matter of their own. Calvin's confession is the source from which Pullain and Huycke drew, the one being a translation into Latin and the other into English. Calvin borrowed it from the German Liturgy in use in Strasbourg during the period of his exile there from 1538 to 1541. I quote the various texts below: (They are on the whole difficult of access.)

(1) PULLAIN, 1554. ~~1551~~ (Q. 9)

"Domine Deus Pater aeternae et omnipotens, agnoscimus et fatemur ingenue apud sanctissimam Maiestatem tuam, peccatores esse nos miseros, adeoque à prima origine, quae concepti et nati sumus tam ad omne malum esse pronos, quam ab omni bono alienos: quo vitio tuas leges sanctissimas assidue transgredimur, eoque nobis exitium iustissimo tuo iudicio conquirimus. Ad tamen Domine Deus, poenitet sic offendisse bonitatem tuam, proindeque nos et facta nostra nimium scelerata damnamus, orantes, ut tu pro tua clementia huic nostrae calamitati succurras. Miserere igitur nostri omnium, O Deus et Pater clementissime ac misericors per nomen filii tui Iesu Christi Domini nostri te obtestamur: ac deletis vitiis, ablutisque sordibus cunctis largire atque adauge indes spiritus tui sancti vim et dona in nobis, quae verè et seriò nostram miseriam intelligentes, nostram injustitiam agnoscentes, veram poenitentiam agamus: qua mortui peccato deinceps abundemus fructibus iustitiae ac innocentiae, quibus tibi placeamus per Iesum Christum filium tuum unicū redemptorem ac mediatorem nostrum,

(2) HUYCKE'S Translation, 1553. (O)

"Lord God everlastyng and almighty Father, we confesse and knowledge vnfaynedly before thy blessed maiesty, that we are miserable synners, conceyved and borne in vnrighteousnesse, and fylthe of synne, being naturally inclyned to doe wickedlye, beeyng also vnapt and vnable to doe any thing that is good, and that by the selfe same synne planted in vs by nature, wee transgresse withoute all measure (never ceasynge from the same) thy moste helpe and blessed commaundementes: wherein we procure vnto oure selues by thy ryghteous iudgemente, confusyon and destruceyon. Yet moste mercyfull Father, and Lorde, for asmuche as wee are dyspleased with oure selues, in that we haue offended thy goodnesse: and seeynge wee condemne bothe oure selues and oure wyckednesse, beeyng truelye repentaunte for the same, moste instauntelye desyrynge that thou of thy beautyfull goodnesse wylte helpe vs in thys myserye: vouchesaue now moste mercyfull Geed and louynge Father, to haue pitie of vs for thy only sonnes sake, for the merites (I say) of our Lorde Iesu Christ: not ~~all~~ alonelye in puttyng awaye oure faultes and transgressyons, but also in geuynge vnto vs the gyftes of thy holye spirite, increasynge the same from tyme to tyme, to the ende that wee continuallye euen from the bottome of oure heartes, knowleging our own vnrighteousnesse: may conceyue such displeasure towardes sinne, as may bring furth an vnfained repentaunce whereby we may both mortifye our synneful inordinate affections, and also an vpright conscience shew furth the frutes of righteousnes, which frutes (notwithstanding they bee polluted and imperfect through our naughty nature) yet thou dost accepte as perfecte, for Iesus Christes sake, which liueth. &c."

(3) CALVIN, 1542 &c. (M. 10)

"Seigneur Dieu, Pere eternal et tout puissant, nous confessons et reconnaissons sans feintise, devant ta sainte Maïesté, que nous sommes peuvres pecheurs, conceus et nez en iniquité et corruption: enclins à mal faire, inutiles à tout bien: et que de nostre vice, nous transgressons sans fin et sans cesse, tes saints commandemens. Enquoy faisant, nous acquerons, par ton iuste, ruine et perdition, sur nous. Toutesfois, Seigneur, nous avons desplaisir, en nous mesmes, de t'avoir offensé, et condamnons nous et nos vices, avec vraye repentance, desirant, que ta grace subviene à nostre calamité. Vaeille donc avoir pitié de nous, Dieu et Pere tresbenign, et plein de misericorde, au Nom de ton Filz Iesus Christ, nostre Seigneur. Et en effaceant nos vices et macules, eslargis nous et augmente de iour en iour les graces de ton saint Esprit: afin que reconnoissant de tout nostre coeur nostre iniustice, nous soyons touchés de desplaisir, qui engendre droicte penitence en nous: laquelle nous mortifiant à tous pechez, produise en nous fruietz de iustice et innocence qui te soient agreables, par iceluy Iesus Christ."

(4) RUCER(?) — Psalter mit aller Kirchenabg die man ben der Christlichen Gemein zu Straszburg vnd anders wa pflegt zu singen... 1539.

(ewiger)

"Almechtiger ewiger Gott und Vatter wir bekennen vnd veriehen das wir leyder inn sünden empfangen vnd geboren sind vnd daher genoygt zu allem argen, vnd treg zu allem gütten, das wir deine heylige gebott on vnderlass ubertretten, vns selb inner mehr verderben. Das ist vns aber leid, vnd begeren deiner gnaden vnd hülf. So erbarme dich über vns aller gütigster barmherzigster Gott vnd Vatter, durch deinen Sun vnseren Herren Iesum Christum, verleihe vnd mehre vns deinen H. Geyst, damit wir unser sünd und ungerechtigkeijt in grund unseres hertzens erkennen war reu und leid darüber uberkommen, inen gantzlich absterben, und dir in einem Gottseligen leben gantzlich wol gefallen. Amen." (cf. HUBERT: op. cit. p. 92.)

The above quotations show clearly the pedigree of this Calvinistic confession of sins, and shows the development and enlargement as each revisor and translator took it in hand. They also clear the air, for hitherto the source of this famous confession has not been determined by English scholars. There have been several interesting suggestions made, but no certainty has been arrived at.

MACMILLAN (Thesis, p. 80), for example, follows SPROTT (RCO, p. 201) and records

E. G.



## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

not for the worthynes therof,  
 but for the merites of thy dearly  
 beloued sonne Iesus Christe our onely  
 sayour, whom thou hast already giuen  
 an oblation and offeringe for our  
 synnes: and for whose sake, we are  
 certainly persuaded, that thou wylt  
 denye vs nothinge, that we shall aske  
 in his name, accordinge to thy wyl.  
 For thy spirite doth assure our con-  
 sciences, that thou art our mercifull  
 father, and so louest vs thy chil-  
 drene through hym, that nothinge is  
 able to remoue thy heauenlye  
 grace, and fauor, from vs: to thee  
 therefore o father,  
 with the sonne and the holy ghoste, be  
 all honor, and glorye, worlde with  
 owt ende. So be it.

Neque hoc abs te Domine, propter nostra  
 merita cōtendimus, sed ob amorem solū  
 Filii tui Iesu Christi,  
 quē vti semel dedisti idoneā oblat-  
 ionem ad expiāda  
 peccata,  
 ita p̄suasissimū habemus,  
 te nobis eius nomine rogātib' nihil  
 negaturū, q̄ cū volūtate tua faciat.  
 nā tu' Spirit' animis testatur nostris,  
 te nobis Deū fore p̄piciū, nōsq; filios  
 tuos sic amare per  
 ipsū, vt nulla res vnquā siue supera,  
 siue infera nos ab amore, quo nos com-  
 plecteris, sit diuulsura. Tibi  
 ergo praestantissime ac optime pater,  
 vnā cum filio ac Spiritu sancto, sit  
 omnis honos & gloria ad omnem aevi  
 perennitatem. Amen.

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various opinions and conjectures, as follows: It has been ascribed to Reza because it was used by him at the Conference of Poissy in 1561; it has been attributed to Johannes Oecolampadius by Ebrard, who states that it appeared in the Zurich Liturgy of 1525; while Bersier thought it was composed by Calvin. Now, however, the source is established and the development can be clearly traced through the liturgies quoted above. It is written in the first instance by Rucor (Cf. ERICHSON: L'origine de la confession des péchés — article in the Revue chrétienne, 1896), and it first appears in the 1537 Psalter mit aller Kirchenbüch &c., of Strasburg (the German Church). Calvin's confession is a very free translation and paraphrase of it including certain added matter. Calvin knew no German ("linguae germanicae sum ignarus" — letter, 1 Aug 1557, Opera XVI, p. 553), so must have received some assistance in preparing the confession; very likely it was roughly translated by another hand, and then put into final shape by Calvin himself. M. DOUMERGUE (Calvin, ii. pp 494-5) has shown the close relationship of the German and French Confessions by placing them in parallel columns and translating the German into French. Of the derivation of the French from the German there can be no doubt. The German Confession was one of a number used in the German Mass, or Lord's Supper as it had come then to be called, as variations of the 'Confiteor', as will be seen by comparing the text in HURBERT.

1. This latter part of the Confession is an independent addition by the compilers of the FP, standing in place of the Absolution found in Pullain, Calvin 1545, and Rucor. It is a petition for pardon, placing the emphasis on Christ's work as the basis of forgiveness. It may have been remotely influenced by the Confession and Absolution at Morning Prayer in the RCP. The following are the absolutions used in this place by Pullain, Calvin, and Rucor.

(1) PULLAIN (1554) directs as follows:

"Post haec (the Confession) minister ex scriptura sacra sententiam aliquam remissionis peccatorum populo recitat. Ad toto hoc tempore populus magna cum reverentia vel astat, vel procumbit in genua, vt vt animus cuiusque tulerit."

(2) CALVIN (1545) goes further:

"Icy (after the Confession) dit le Ministre quelque parole de L'escripture pour consoler les consciences et puy fait l'absolution en ceste maniere. Vn chascun de vous se recognoisse vrayement pecheur s'humiliant devant Dieu et croye que le Pere celeste luy veult estre propice en Iesus Christ. A tous ceux qui en cest maniere se repentent, et cherchent Iesus Christ pour leur salut, ie denonce l'absolution des pechez estre faicte au Nom du Pere, du Fils et du saint Esprit. Amen."

(3) RUCOR's Psalter No. 1539, has this:

"Ein yedes bekenne sich in warheit mit dem heiligen Paulo in seinem hertzen, und glaube inn Christum. So versprich ich euch inn seinem namen verzeihung aller ewer sünden, und sage euch derselbigen losz auff erden, das ir iren auch im himmel loss seien inn ewigkeit. Amen."

Etwann nimmet er andere sprüch, die uns der verzeihung der sünden und be-  
 zalung Christi für unsere sünd getrösten." (quoted from Buchsenschütz — cf. also HUBER op. 1. pp. 94-95)

In the Geneva editions of the La Forme, 1542 onwards, CALVIN omitted the Absolution, but did not substitute a Prayer for Pardon as in the FP, 1558, above. Calvin made this omission of the Absolution reluctantly, and only by compulsion of

167-177 Band also. p. 35 'On lib.'

The 1551 ed. indicates that the original Absolution was used.



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Confessio hi publice adiungit insignem aliquam promissionem, quae peccatores ad opem veniale et reconciliatio erigat, nemo nostrum est qui non agnoscat utilissimum esse, atque ab initio hunc morem inducere voluit: sed quum offensorem quidam ex novitate refruerent, minimum facilia fuit ad arcendum, ita his omnia est.

as did the Scottish church on ordinary occasions

This done, the people singe  
a Psalme all together, in a  
playne tune, which ended,

the minister prayeth for thas-  
sistance of Gods holy spirite  
as the same shall moue his harte,  
and so proceedeth to the sermon,  
Vsing after the sermon this pray-  
er followinge or suche lyke.

His ita actis,

Minister se ad concione parat,  
prius inuocata Spiritus sancti ope,  
breui aliqua, qua sibi videbitur,  
oratione.

Confectam concionem excoipit altera  
rursus precatio, cuius haec subiici-  
tur formula.

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Footnote continued from preceding page:

the Magistracy of Geneva's opinion. "There is none of us", he wrote <sup>in 1561</sup> ~~but~~ "but must acknowledge it to be very useful, that after the General Confession [of sins], some striking promise of Scripture (~~insignem aliquam promissionem~~) should follow, whereby sinners might be raised to the hope of pardon and reconciliation. And I would have introduced this custom from the beginning [in Geneva], but some fearing the novelty [i.e. novelty from Farel's practice, not from Catholic practice] of it would give offence, I was over-easy in yielding to them. ~~Thus the matter was allowed to stand.~~" (CALVIN: Opera X, i., p. 2135 quoted by SOMMERGUTH: Calvin, iii. 599). The compilers of the ~~RP~~ chose the ~~half-way~~ half-way house, and later English Puritan practice followed them. In Scotland, however, a definite absolution was used in the form for the reception of the excommunicate again into the society of the Church. It was drawn up in 1537, revised by Committee of Assembly in 1568, and printed by Leprevik (Edinburgh) in 1569. It is as follows: "In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the minister of his blessed Evangel, with consent of the whole Ministry and Church, absolve thee, N., from the sentence of Excommuni- cation, from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same before, according to thy repentance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven, and thee to be received again to the society of Jesus Christ, to his body the Church, to the participation of His Sacraments, and, finally, to the fruition of all his benefits: in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit. So be it." (cf SPROTT: RCO, p. 71.) The Westminster Directory directs ~~that~~ here to "humbly, and earnestly to supplicate for mercy in the free and full remission of all our sins, and that onely for the bitter sufferings and pretious merits of that our onely Saviour Jesus Christ."

1. The Psalm sung at this point is derived from CALVIN's La Forme 1542 (and so in other Genevan editions), which directs as follows: "Cela (i.e. the Confession of Sins) fait, on chante en l'assemblée quelque Psaulme." In the edition of 1545 (Strasbourg) the 10 Cds. were sung here in metre. They were divided into two tables between which were said collects for il- lumination and grace. Pullain in his 1551 Lit. sac. followed a similar order, but in the 1554 edn. (Frankfort) he changed his order by placing the whole at the beginning of the service, and omitting the dividing prayers; but no psalm was sung after the Confession of sins as here. In the German Church at Strasbourg, however, the Psalm was sung here, and no doubt it was from that source that Calvin derived his placing of the Psalm in the 1542 edn. The German rubric (Psalter mit &c, 1539) shows the first origin of the Psalm at this point, being in fact in the same place as the Introit in the Mass: "Auff das [i.e. the Confession of Sins] fahet die Kirehe an, zu singen ein psalmen, als das miserere (Ps. 57) oder ein anderen psalmen an- stat des introits vnd etwædas Kyrieleyson vnd gloria in excelsis."

The reference to "playne tune" does not mean only that simple music is to be used, but also that there is to be no harmony singing. In the Psalter at the end of the volume, the melody line only is given for the various tunes; while HUYCKE translating and explaining Calvin directs that the Psalm be sung in "playnesong". The Reformers at Geneva wished to avoid all intricacies and flourishes, such as were common then in the Mass (cf. the Graduals and Alleluia's) and which could only be rendered by trained singers, and instead to use simple music which the common people could sing and love. By this means they were successful in restoring the song in the Church ~~once more~~ to the people.

2. This prayer for the assistance or illumination of the Holy Spirit before the reading and sermon is common to CALVIN and PULLAIN in all editions, and is continued in the editions for Puritan and Scottish use later. In two editions examples are given, Calvin 1545 and the German Psalter, 1539 (and earlier), but in every case in all editions it is left to the discretion of the minister to frame a prayer suitable for the occasion and theme. By the examples which are given, and especially in the case of the German, it is evident that this prayer stands in the place of the Collect which comes before the Lectons in the Mass following the Gloria in excelsis. Put instead of the collect, this prayer becomes one for illumination, thereby returning to very primitive practice before the Collect as such had developed in the West. Such primitive practice we find imbedded in the deacon's litany standing at the beginning of the liturgy in the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, as

cap.



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Footnote continued from previous page.

follows:

The deacon rises, and ascending to an elevated place, imposes silence, and says to the congregation:

"Catechumens, pray!" Then follows this prayer, first among the Piddings—

Υπερ τῶν κτηχουμένων πάντες ἐκτενῶς τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλέσωμεν

ἵνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος εὐμενὴς εἰσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακλήσεων

καὶ προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀντιλήβῃται αὐτῶν

καὶ δῶ αὐτοῖς τὰ δῶτα τῶν καρδίων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον...

On the other hand, the use of this prayer for illumination may not have been a conscious return to primitive practice, but a mere following of the dictates of common logic—but after all, that was at the foundation of primitive practice itself. Below is quoted the prayer from the German of 1539 as an example of the type of prayer used at this point:

"Der herr sey mit euch! Laszt uns bitten!

Almechtiger, gütiger vatter, schenckmal all unser heil daran steht, das wir deins heiligen worts ~~waren~~ verstand haben, so verleihe unsz allen, das unsere hertzen gefreiet wonn weltlichen geschäften mitt allem fleisz und glauben dein heiligs wort hören und fassen, damit wir deinen gnedigen willen recht erkennen, lieben und jm mit allem ernst geleben, dir zū lob und ehr durch unseren herrn Jesum Christum, amen." (HUBER: *op. cit.* p. 96).

It will be noticed that in 1539 the Salutation before the Collect was still retained.

3. It will be observed that nothing is mentioned in this rubric (or elsewhere) of any Scripture Readings, but that does not mean that no Scripture was read. It is difficult to determine the actual practice, but in all probability the Scriptures were read consecutively and only as much as would be explained in the sermon immediately following. That was Pullain's practice, as we see by his illuminating rubric of the 1551 *Lit. sac.*: "Inter ea (i.e. while the second Table of the Decalogue is being sung) pastor suggestum concendit ad concionandum; ac primum nomine Domini inuocata, vt spiritu sanato adiutus possit digna Deo, atq; salutaria Ecclesiae eloqui, recita: deinde ex nouo Testamento textum aliquem, non illo quidem modo, quo truncatim fieri videmus in missariis libris, sed quem librum semel erit aggressus exponere Ecclesiae in coeperit vsq; ad finem. Neq; amplius recitat, quam interpretari instituerit." After this follows the sermon, "for the space of an hour". In his Letter "Ad lectionem candidum.." (1554, PULLAIN <sup>tr.</sup> 1539), says also, "Lectionem autem Euangeliorum et Epistolarum Ecclesia non amisit, sed restituit". And he accuses the Church of Rome of having mutilated and obscured the Reading of Scripture into a meaningless form, while A'Lasco (Cf. *KUYPER: Works of a Lasco*, ii. 32) also bears witness to the same effect. ~~There was~~ <sup>the</sup> truth in the accusation. In the Mediaeval Church the reading of Scripture had been disastrously effected by the multitude of saints' days which kept increasing, with the result that on those days the proper lections were displaced and superseded by lections from the saints' lives or sayings; thus the whole scheme of Scripture lections was mutilated and disjointed. Further, the reading of all Scripture was in Latin; and at that time there were no missals as at present with the Latin in one column and the vernacular in the other so that all could follow. Thus, when the Reformers began to read Scripture consecutively in the Churches week by week, explaining the passages as they were read, and doing all in the vernacular tongue, for the first time in 1,000 years the Bible was brought within the comprehension of the common people.

At first, it would appear from the early translations of the Mass into German that the old scheme of Lections was kept—Epistle and Gospel—but that gradually came to be displaced by a scheme of consecutive Readings; explained week by week, until it came to be the common practice to treat the Readings as the text for the sermon, and to read only as much as was explained. ~~And~~ the length of the services <sup>and manner</sup> permitted a considerable portion of Scripture to be thus covered <sup>of preaching</sup> week by week and year by year. It was a thoroughgoing attempt to carry out the spirit of the old Church readings, chosen in the first instance for their centrality and evangelicalism, by abandoning the letter—i.e., by turning away from the old lectionaries, and establishing a new system of consecutive reading and study. In spirit the old tradition was kept, though the system was reform-

There is no direct evidence that PULLAIN's practice was the practice of the English Church at Geneva, but it must have been similar. It was very likely the practice urged by Knox in 1556 (July 1st) <sup>after</sup> after he had left Frankfurt and come to Geneva. It is set forth in his 'Letter of wholesome counsel' (LAING: *KW*, iv. 138-139. McRie is wrong in dating this letter 1557; LAING: *ibid.*, p. 140), as follows:

"I wolde, in reading the Scriptura, ye sholde joyne some booke of the Olde and some of the New Testament togeder, as Genesis and one of the Evangelists, Exodus wyth another, and so furth; euer emdyng suche booke as ye begynne, (as the tyme will suffer)... Re frequent in the Prophetis and in the Epistillis of St. Paul, for the multitude of maters, most comfortable thairin conteyned, requireth exerceyse and good memory. Lyke as your assemblies ought to begin with confessioun and invocation of God's Holy Sprite, so walde I that they were finissit with thankesgiving and common prayers for princes, rulers, and magistrates; for the liberty and free passage of Chrystes Evangell, for the comfort and deliuerance of our afflicted brethren in all places nowe perscuted, but most cruellly within the realme of France and England; and for such other thinges as the Sprite of the Lord Jesus shall teache unto you to be profitable, eyther to yourselues, or to your brethren wheresoever they be." That is his suggested order, and it will be remarked, the Scripture Reading is mentioned as an integral part of the service, not a preface as a Reader's Service. In the 'Lit. of Compromise, 1555, at Strassburg, allowance was made for an OT and a NT reading. To

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have the Readings near the beginning of the service was of course in complete accordance with primitive practice in the Church. Compare, e.g. DUCHESNE: Christian Worship, pp. 57-58, where we find the following: "The congregation has assembled, the men on one side, and the women on the other, and the clergy in the apse. The Readers at once begin the Lections, which are interspersed here and there by chants. A Reader ascends the ambo, placed about the middle of the church.... and reads...."

At the same time there is evidence that a few extremists objected to all reading of the Scriptures in Public Worship; but their counsel was never allowed to prevail. The evidence for their views, however, is found in a letter of David Whitehead, Richard Cox, and others, to Calvin on September 20th, 1555 in reply to a former letter from Calvin. Part is as follows: "They also falsely lay to our charge before you, that we wished to 'burden the Church with trifling and unprofitable Ceremonies'. Our ceremonies are very few; and all of them of no little use towards the advancement of godliness. But it is no wonder that our ceremonies appear redundant, and even burdensome, to those persons who exclaim against the Public Reading of the Word of God, as an irksome and unprofitable form." (PARKER SOCIETY: Orig. Lits., edn. 1846-7, pp. 755-768, quoted by ARPER in his edition of the Brief Discourse.) Later, also, in England there are traces of this extreme view, for among certain articles put forward for redress by the early non-conformists we find this preposterous statement: "The holy Scriptures ought not to be read in the churches." (Zurich Letters, p. 417, quoted by RAIRD: On Lits. p. 153.) In Scotland some 80 to 90 years after the Reformation there is also trace of the falling off of Scripture Reading in the churches, but this was viewed with marked disfavour by the majority, and was due to Brownist influence. Andrew Ramsay, Moderator of the Aberdeen Assembly of 1640, writing about 1650 and protesting vigorously against the innovations which had been introduced since 1638 (the year of the National Covenant), records that "of late all public reading of the Scriptures in the Church is laid aside as dry and useless unless there be a Minister to explain it." (WODROW MS, Life of Ramsay, University of Glasgow, quoted by SPROTT: RQ, p. xxxi.) It is apparent that this disregard for Public Reading of the Scriptures was never the view of the Reformed Church as a whole either on the Continent or in Britain. And in Scotland after the Reformation it was held ~~in such esteem~~ in such esteem that the Reader's Service was established, to which reference is made earlier in this thesis. The first rubric in the Morning Service of the editions of the FP before mentioned also vouches for the early practice among the Puritans in England. And in 1644, the Westminster Directory declared that the "reading of the Word in the congregation" was a "part of the publique worship of God", and ordained that "ordinarily one chapter of each Testament bee read at every meeting."

4. In this service of the English Congregation, as in all the other Reformed Liturgies, English, French, and Scottish, —Pullain, excepted—there is no mention of an Offertory. From the beginning at Strasburg it was considered an undesirable part of Catholic ritual, and was accordingly suppressed. (Cf. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii. 492-3) and the offering apparently went with it. Calvin's practice in the French Church at Strasburg, however, was to collect the alms before the Great Prayer, thus retaining the collection of the offering in the old Catholic position. The rubric after the sermon in PULLAIN: Lit. sac., 1551 ed., best describes the practice. Apparently after the sermon any announcements, banns, baptisms, marriages, &c., were read or performed, and then the offering collected by the deacons, and meantime the ~~prayer would be begun~~ *Great Prayer* begun. This of course would be what often happened in the Mass in former days, the offering still being collected while the Preface and Sanctus ~~were~~ being sung if a large congregation were present. The rubric is as follows:
- "Cencionem hora spatia absoluit, ac subiecta precatone occludit. Admonet autem prius Ecclesiam, si qua sunt digna aut necessaria. Nempe si sponsalia sint, si baptismus, si quis pauper, aut aegrotus se commendat precibus Ecclesiae, & cact. eiusmodi. [*This last sentence indicates the Bidding Prayer.*]
- Interea Diaconi duo tetam Ecclesiam circumeunt a singulis eleemosynam postulantes in pauperum vsus: sed oia silentio, ne preces turbent. Itaq; sacculum pendulum longa virgula ante singulorum oculos penunt. Atq; iidem ad ostiū templi astant, vt si qui forte ad preces magis attenti nihil contulerint, iam in egressu dent suam eleemosynam."
- after the Bidding Prayer (i.e. mobile before)*
- 7/ 9/*
- after the Bidding Prayer (i.e. mobile before)*
- printer omitted*
3. In the first paragraph we see plainly the influence of the old Prone (a short vernacular service) ~~the sermon inserted into the Mass of~~ BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite vol. ii, app. I., ~~the bidding prayer for the sick. But to contend that the whole service is nothing more than the Prone, as Brightman in a series of elaborate and ingenious parallels has suggested, is to go beyond the evidence, and to firmly close one's eyes to the researches of HUBERT, ERICHSON, DOUMERGUE, and others. The service as a whole is derived from the Mass; in this latter part the influence of the Prone can be discerned; but it is~~ *abundant* to suggest that what these Reformers did was to discard the whole Mass, and preserve only the vernacular element, which properly speaking was no part of it. Such a proposition is historical inquiry become ~~the handmaid of prejudice.~~
- The later practice in Scotland at least (and likely also in England among the Puritans, though evidence is lacking) was to collect the offering at the church door as the people passed out (or in), the beginnings of which practice is to be found already in Pullain's rubric above. MACMILLAN: Thesis pp. 184-185, gives some contemporary evidence. From that it is apparent that the practice varied; in some places it was collected at the Communion Table in basons as the people came forward to the Tables; in other places at the Church door. The Westminster Directory, 1644, ordered that "the collection for the Poor is to be so ordered that no part of the public worship is thereby hindered." At the present day in the Church of Scotland the usual practice is to collect the offering after the sermon, in the same way that Pullain describes, save that the Great Prayer does not follow. The offering is usually presented at the Lord's Table.



# THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

## 1. A PRAYER FOR THE WHOLE ESTATE OF CHRISTES CHEVRE.

ALMIGHTIE God, and moste mercifull  
father we humbly submit our selues and  
fall downe before thy maiestie, besech-  
inge thee from the botome of our hartes,  
that  
this seede of thy worde, nowe sown  
amongest vs, may take such depe roote,  
that neither the burninge of heate of  
persecution, cause it to wither, nether  
the thorny cares of this lyfe, do choke  
it, but that as seede sown in good  
grownde, it may bringe forth thirtie,  
sixtie, ād an hundreth folde, as thy  
heauenly wisdome, hathe appointed.  
And because we haue nede continuallie,  
to craue many thinges  
at thy handes, we humbly beseeche thee (o  
heauely father) to graunt vs thy holy  
spirite, to directe our petitions, that  
they may procede, from suche a feruēt  
mynde, as may be agreable to thy moste  
blessed wyll. And seinge that our infir-  
mitie is hable to do nothinge, without  
thy help: and that thou arte not ignorant  
with how many, and greate temptations, we  
poore wretches, are on euery side inclosed,  
and compassed:

TVIS pedibus aduoluti mitissime  
Pater,  
totoque pectore suspirantes, per Christum  
rogamus ac obtestamur, vt quod modo per  
verbi tui ministeriū iactum est in ani-  
mos nostros semē, tā altas radices agat,  
vt neque persecutionis aestu  
arescat, neque  
illud vitae huius sollicitudo, ac diuitiarum  
illecebrae suffocent: sed tanquam in bon-  
am terram satum, fructū trigessimis,  
sexagessimis, & quidē centessimis pro  
tuae voluntatis arbitrio ferat.  
Quoniamque multa postulat infirmitatis  
nostrae necessitas, quae petituri in  
praesentia abs te sumus,  
imparti nobis Spiritū tuum sanctū,  
quo dictante ex ardente petitione ac  
congrua voluntati tuae, ea quae pos-  
tulaturi sumus proueniant.

1. This prayer is an independent compilation, and no sources can be traced in the liturgies of the period; it was composed specially to meet the peculiar needs of this band of exiles. However, even after the time of exile and per-secution was passed, it was retained with slight necessary ~~amendments~~ in the editions for Puritan use and in the BCO in Scotland. It is the same in scope, if not in text, as Calvin's Great Prayer.

The prayer used in this place by CALVIN and PULLAIN is derived directly from one of the prayers used in the German Church at Strasburg found in the Psalter of 1539. Hayke's translation, with slight changes, was embodied in the BCO of 1583; it is the prayer beginning, "Almighty God and heauenlie Father..." —pp. 92sq. of SPROTT's edition. It is more suitable for general use than the one above. The long paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer found at the end of this prayer is not in the German; there, simply the Lord's Prayer is used. The paraphrase was written by Calvin, and adopted by Pullain. In the later editions of Calvin it is omitted.

It should also be observed, — for the point is of extreme importance — that in the German liturgies from which Calvin's prayer was derived, this general prayer was part of an alternative canon. At first it was called the 'canon' in the early German liturgies (cf. HUBERT: op.cit. p. 65). Later it was called simply 'g'st' (op.cit. pp. 103, 105). But it was still a ~~canon~~ canon — and all the canon but the part directly involved in the consecration of the elements <sup>was used in the Sunday Morning Service</sup> was not derived from the Pridding Prayers but from the canon. BRIGITMAN is wrong in the implication found on p. xxiii vol. 2 (part 1) of his Supplicatio. The German text from which Calvin's prayer is derived will be found in HUBERT: op.cit. pp. 105-107. BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ: op.cit. has placed Calvin's German prayer in parallel columns, demonstrating an <sup>obvious</sup> relationship.

Luther discarded the canon of the Mass except the words of institution. At Strasburg the canon was retained, but the words of institution separated from it. The elaboration in the General Prayer shows the influence of the Preface to the Canon.



## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

let thy strengthe (o lord) susteyne our  
weaknes, that we beinge defended with  
the force of thy grace, may be sanely  
preseued, against all assaultes of Sa-  
tan: who goeth abowte cōtinually, like a  
roaringe lyō sekinge to deuoure vs.

Increase our faith (o mercifull fa-  
ther) that we do not swarue at any  
tyme, frome thy heauēly worde, but  
augment in vs, hope, and loue, with a  
carefull kepinge of all thy commaunde-  
mentes: that no hardnes of harte, no  
hypocrisie, no concupiscence of the eys,  
nor intysementes of the worlde,  
do drawe vs away,

frome thy obedience. And,  
seinge we lyue nowe in these moste pe-  
rillous tymes, let  
thy fatherly prouidēce defende vs, a-  
gainst the violence of all our enemies,  
which do euery where pursue vs:

but chiefly againste the wicked rage,  
and furious vproares of that Romysh  
idoll, enemie to thy Christe.<sup>1</sup> Forder-  
more forasmoche as by thy holy Apostle,  
we be taught, to make our prayers, and  
supplikations for all men, we praye  
not onely for our selues here present,

but beseche the also to reduce all suche  
as be yet ignorant, from the miserable  
captiuitie of blindnes and error, to the  
pure vnderstandinge, and knowlage, of  
thy heauenly trueth: that we all, with  
one consent and vnitie of myndes, may  
wourshippe thee our onely God and sau-  
our.

And that all Pastors, shepherds, and

Ferat igitur opem fragilitati nostrae  
tua firmitas, vt gratiae tuae vallo  
communiti, aduersus ignita satanae  
spicula,

ē sublimi nos petentis, aduersus omnes  
malorum impetus, quaecunque militant  
contra animam nostram, tuti ac inconcussi  
persistamus. Imprimis autem adauge in  
nobis fidem, mecum in caelesti doc-  
trina tua vacillemus.

Adauge spem ac charitatem, pariter  
cum praeceptorum tuorum obedientia:  
ne qua vsquam cordis duritia, aut  
hypocrisis, ne qua oculorum concupiscentia,  
aut mundi titillantis illecebrae, aut  
fastus vitae, transuersos nos ab obser-  
uantia voluntatis tuae abripiat. Prae-  
terea quum in nouissima haec tempora  
lōgē exulceratissima incidimus, pro-  
uida nūc cura tua nos tueatur aduersus  
impressionem & incursus hostium,  
vbique nos persequentium,  
maximē autem aduersus Romani illius  
Antichristi nephariam rabiem, &  
infanos tumultus.

Quoniamque per electissimū Paulum tuū  
pro cunctis etiā hominibus supplicare  
iubemur, non pro  
nobis tātum,

sed pro his insuper rogitamus, quoscunque  
caece ignorantia aut erroris seductio  
vbicūque captiuos possidet, vt in  
viam tandem ac in caulas tuas reducas,  
quō perducti in  
vnitatem fidei vnā nobiscum, nōsque cum  
illis vnanimi ac concordī animorum con-  
centu te Deū vnicū ac seruatoreū nos-  
trū euehamus. Porro pastoribus ac

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1. This may appear to be rugged language, but that was not a time when smooth words were used by either side in the controversy. Further, when one considers the persecution being endured then by Protestants for their faith coupled with the overbearing iniquity and vice rampant among the clergy of the old Church (cf. DOUMERGUE: *Calvin*, vol. i.; FLEMING: *Ref. in Scot.*; ~~COULTON~~ COULTON: *Medievalism*.), one can understand and sympathise with those who framed this prayer.

From this point onwards the West. Dir. directions for prayer follow this closely in phrase and order.

## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

ministers, to whom thou hast committed the dispensation of thy holy woord, and the charge of thy chosen people, may bothe in their life and doctrine, be fownde faithfull: settinge onely before their eyes, thy glorie: and that by theim all poore shepe which wander and go astray, may be gathered, & ad broght home to thy fouldre.

Moreouer, because the hartes of rulers are in thy hands, we beseche thee to direct, and gouerne, the hartes of all kinges, Princes, and Magistrates, to whome thou haste comitted the sworde, especially (o lord) accordinge to our bondendutie, we beseche thee to mainteyne & ad increase, the honorable estate of this Citie, into whose defense we are receyued: the Magistrates, the counsell, and all the whole bodye of this commō weale. Let thy fatherlye fauour so preserue theym, and thy holy spirite so gouerne their hartes, that they may in suche sorte execute their office that thy religion may be purely mainteyned, maners reformed, & ad synne punished accordinge to the precise rule of thy holy woord.

And for that we be all mēbres of the mysticall body of Christ Iesu, we make our requestes vnto the (o heavenly father) for all suche as are afflicted with any kinde of crosse, or tribulation, as warre, plague, famine, sikenes, povertie, imprisonment, persecution, banishment, or any other kinde of thy rodde; whether it be calamitie of bodie, or vexation of mynde, that it would please thee, to gyue them patience, and constancie, till thou send them a full deliuerance, of all their troubles. And as

ministris, quos verbo tuo ac ecclesie informandae praefecisti, aspira gratiae tuae suppetias, vt tum moribus, tum doctrina salutari, quotidie magis ac magis propagantes Ecclesiam tuam, felicissimū tibi animarum lucrum afferant.

Pro Principibus denique ac magistratibus vbicunque constitutis, qui tuas quodam modo vices in terris repraesentantes, rerum gubernaculis tua prouidentia adhibentur, tuam appellamus indulgentiā, vt corda eorum quae in manu tua sunt posita, tuis suspiciis dirigas. tum potissimum vt amplissimum huius vrbis, in qua fouemur, statum,

illius consules cum reliquo grauissimo senatu, ac vniuerso reipublice ordine, ita conseruet tua pietas, ita dirigat moderatrix prudentia, vt ad rectam voluntatis tuae normā omnia administrātes, in coercendis sceleribus, in conseruanda religione, morūque disciplina, nūquā discedant ab archetypo tuae nobis praescriptae aequitatis, cui nihil placere potest, nisi quod rectū sit, ac modis omnibus integrū. Nec patitur interim

charitas Christiana eorū nos obliuisci (sumus enim eiusdē omnes corporis mēbra)

quibus incūbit afflictio aliqua, aut huius vitae acerbitas, siue bello, peste, inedia, morbo, pauperie, carceribus, persecutiōe, exilio, siue quocūq; alio molestiae genere, tū corpore, tū animo diuexatis, quos vt subleuet tua lenitas magnopere obtestamur, addito patientiae dono, quoad finito tandē cruciatu, laeta illa ac expectata in regno tuo succedat trāquillitas. Postremo, quoniā

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## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

we be bownde to loue, and honor our parentes, kinsfolkes, friendes, and contrye: so we moste humbly beseche thee, to shewe thy pitie, vpon our miserable contrie of England, which once through thy mercie, was called to libertie, and now for their and our synnes is broght vnto most vile slauery, and Babylonicall bondage. Roote owte from thence (o lord) all raueninge wolues which to fyll their bellies, destroye thy flocke.

And shewe thy great mercies vpon those our bretherne, which are persecuted, cast in prison, and dayly condemned to deathe, for the testimonie of thy trueth. And though they be vtterly destitute of all mans ayde, yet let thy swete comfort neuer departe frome them:

but so inflame their hartes with thy holie spirite, that they may boldely and chearefully abide suche tryall, as thy godly wisdom\* shall appoint. So that at length aswell by their deathe, as by their life, the kingdome of thy sonne Iesus Christ, may increase, and shyne through all the worlde. In whose name, we make our humble petitions vnto thee, as he hath taught vs.

Our father Which arte  
in heauen. etc.

ALMIGHTIE and euer lyuinge God, vouchsaue we beseche thee, to grant vs perfite contynuaunce in thy liuely faith, augmentinge the same in vs dayly, tyll we growe to the full measure of our perfection in Christ, whereof we make our confession, sayinge.

I beleue in God. &c. <sup>1.</sup>

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\*wisdome

praecipuā pietatis partem parentibus, cognatis, amicis, ac patriae debemus, etiā atque atiam te cōprecamur (omniū seruator De') vt Anglię nostrę te miserescat,

quę sub acerbissimo, sed iustissimo quidē flagello nūc tuo, laborat afflictissima. Lupos istos plaehcidas, qui aperto ore grassatur in ouile tuū, suo seruiētes abdomini subrue. Gentē illic tuā quondā liberā, nūc sub Babylonica captiuitate tristissimā seruiēte serui-  
restituē,  
tutē, tū hos praecipuē, quos Antichristianae hui' psecutionis tēpestas affligit, quos carceres ac vīcula tenēt, de mactatione quotidie piclītātes, euāgelicae pietatis ergō. Quātūuis humana ope destitutis, adsit tamen lenimē tuę cōsolationis,

sicq; aīos eorū instruat patiētiae tuae robur, vt fortes alacresque eō insequantur, quocunque voluntas tua iusserit, vt

tandem siue per mortē  
siue vitam ipsorum, regnū Filii tui magis inclarescat

per vniuersum orbem: in cuius nomine supplici reuerētia  
hunc in modum te comprecamur.

Pater noster, &c.

LARGIRE velis aeterne Pater, mentibus nostris firmam stabilēque in fide tua perseuerantiam, quae continuis auctibus indies grandescat in nobis, vsque ad mensuram adultę perfectionis in Christo, quā ipsi nunc professuri sumus.

1. When the prose version of the creed was used, it was repeated then by the Minister alone; according to the rubrics which are all more explicit in all the liturgies from the German of 1539 onwards, the Minister alone recites the Creed. But undoubtedly the metrical version was used at times, and then the people sang it. In PULLAIN (1551) a rubric in the Communion Service directs that the metrical version be sung by the people always on Communion Sundays, and explicitly forbids the Minister to recite it. This seems to give the Minister (as the rubric says) time to come from the pulpit to the Holy Table, and also to give the Deacons time to bring the elements to the Lord's Table. This was also the custom with Calvin's La forme 1545 (cf. Calvin's Works VI. p. 149) v. also p. 151

## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Then the people singe a Psalme,  
which ended, the minister pro-  
nounceth one of these blessings,  
and so the congregation depar-  
teth.

THE Lord blesse you, and saue you,  
the Lord make his face shyne vpon  
you, and be mercifull vnto you, the  
Lord turne his countenance towardes  
you, and graunt you his peace.<sup>1</sup>

THE grace of our lord Iesus Christ,  
the loue of God, and communion of the  
holie ghoste, be with you all: so be it.

It shall not be necessarie for  
the minister dayly to repete all  
these things before mentioned,  
but beginnyng with some maner of  
confession, to procede to the ser-  
mon. Which ended, he either vseth  
the prayer, for all estates before  
mentioned, or els prayeth, as the  
spirite of God shall moue his harte:  
framinge the same, accordinge to the  
tyme and matter which he hath intrea-  
ted of.<sup>2</sup>

And yf there shalbe at any tyme, any  
present plague, famine, pestilence,  
warre, or such like, which be eu-  
dent tokens of God's wrath: as it is  
our parte to acknowlege our synnes to  
be the occasion therof, so we are ap-  
pointed by the Scriptures to giue our  
selues to mournynge, fastinge, and  
prayer, as the meanes to turne away  
Gods heauie displeasure.

Demum post decantatum Psalmum,  
cum huiusmodi precatiuncula  
dimittitur coetus.

BENEDICAT vobis Dominus, & custodiat  
vos: illuminet Dominus faciem suam super  
vos, & misereatur vestri.  
Attollat Dominus faciē suam super  
vos, & det vobis tranquillitatem.

GRATIA Domini Iesu Christi, &  
charitas Dei, & communicatio Spi-  
ritus sancti, sit cum omnibus vobis, Amen.

Non necesse erit singula haec,  
singulis diebus repetita esse,<sup>2</sup>

sed à confessione tantū aliqua aus-  
picatus, minister cōcionē aggredietur,  
quam vbi absoluerit, precatione  
vel eadem hac quae praecedit,  
vel alia quacunque propria, pro  
instinctu animi sui, vti licebat:  
quae nec ab argumento cōcionis  
suae, nec à temporis praesente op-  
portunitate, admodum digredietur.  
Sin verò praesens aliquod peri-  
culum famis, pestis, aut  
belli inguat, quod apertum indicium  
sit diuinae vindictae, non modò  
non est satis nostra flagitia, huius  
alioqui supplicii incendiū ore tenus  
confiteri, sed nos luctui, ieiunio,  
ac orationi dare: quae nobis in Scrip-  
tura sacra commēdantur, tanquam expe-  
ditissimae & absolutissimae rationes  
ad reconciliandū Dei fauorem.

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1. This Blessing from Numbers is derived from the German use at Strasburg, and is the only Blessing given in CALVIN and PULLAIN. It was perhaps due to the influence of the RCP that the Grace was added (but with "you", not "us") as an alternative Blessing here. The German Psalter added to the Blessing a Dismissal, as was the custom at Mass, though using different words: "Geet hin! Der geist des herren geleite euch zum ewigen leben! amen."

2. I.e., at any week-day services that were held the order would be simpler and shorter. Services could not be held daily because of the arrangement under which the church building was shared with the Italian refugees—of. pp. 24-25 supra.

ad ministrum from Luther 1546. 974  
the text



## THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Therefore, it shalbe conuenient, that the minister at suche tyme, do not onely admonyshe the people therof, but also vse some forme of prayer, accordinge as the present necessitie requireth, to the which he may appoint, by a common consent some seuerall days after the sermon wekely to be obserued.

Quocirca, in eiusmodi angustiis, pastoris erit & populum sedulo huius tantae calamitatis admonere, & preces suas ad tempus ac loci opportunitatem accommodare: cuius quoque rei gratia, certum aliquem diem singula quaque hebdomada, ecclesiae consensu potest statuere.

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1. CALVIN and PULLAIN also made provision for services during the week. CALVIN's custom was as follows: "En jours ouvrieres outre les deux predications qui se font (i.e. on Sundays), que troys fois la semaine on presche à saint pierre, assavoir le lundy, mardy, mercredy, et vendredy une heure, devant qu'on commence aux aultres lieux." (Proj. d'ordon. in Opera X, i. p. 21.) PULLAIN had short services on Tuesdays and Thursdays: "Per hebdomadam habetur etiam mane diebus Martis et Jouis concio. Quae accedente Ministro constituerit (perhaps a misprint for "constituta"), a Psalmo incipit, quo decantato, ille inuocato spiritu sancto textum sacrum recitat, pergens, vti supra monuimus, in eodem libro, quam semel enarrandum sumpserit. Post horae spatium concludit preceatione aliqua breuiore, prout animus tulerit, deinceps populum benedicens dimittit ad operas." This is from the 1554 edn. of the HEBREAN. Lit. sac.; in the 1551 edn. such a service was directed to be held daily; the change was due to the different conditions obtaining in Hebrew. In A'Lasco's church, Thursday was the usual day for the week-day service. Pullain also gave directions for a special service of Repentance to be held on Thursdays: "Quoniam vero assiduis fere calamitatibus Ecclesia Dei flagellatur ob scelera et peccata: nequissimum videtur juxta ac sanctissimum die Jouis preces celebriores haberi, ad quas tota Ecclesia conuenit, vt ad poenitentiam sese comparet. Concionem claudit hac preceatione, postquam satis coetum commonefecerit irae ac iudicii Dei, ac peccatorum quibus norit ipsos obnoxios, ob quae sic ira Dei in eos desaeuit." (Lit. sac. 1554). (Then follows the prayer to be used of which the one in SPROTT: RCO is substantially a translation—p. 98. It is Calvin's prayer for time of plagues, wars, and other adversities. The translation in the RCO is taken almost straight from HUYCKE.)

It was no doubt a service of this type that is outlined and suggested in the above rubric in the FP, and it was likely held on Thursdays.

Glasgow, as  
compared with  
fresh.

THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

THE ORDER OF BAPTISME.  
MODVS AC FORMVLA BAPTISMI.



INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

The 'Order of Baptism', the footnotes will show is derived almost in its entirety from Calvin; here and there there are slight deviations, but none of these are important liturgically or doctrinally.

Calvin himself claimed the authorship of the service from which this in the FP is patently derived, and it is the only service in his La Forme of which he did expressly claim the sole authorship. The other services he declared to be derived from other sources, but of the order for Baptism he wrote that he had composed it himself at Strasburg, where many children of the Anabaptists were brought to him for Baptism. This statement is found in his Letter of Farewell to the Genevan Ministers, where he writes: "Quant aux prières des dimanches, ie prins la forme de Strasbourg et en empruntay la plus grande partie. Des autres, ie ne les pouvois prendre d'eux, car il y en avoit pas un mot, mais ie prins le tout de l'Ecriture. Je fus constraint aussi de faire le formulaire du baptesme, estant à Strasbourg, et qu'on m'apportait les enfans des anabaptistes, de cinq et de dix lieues à la ronde, pour les baptiser. Je fis alors ce formulaire rude, mais tant y a que ie ne vous conseille de changer."<sup>1</sup> An examination of the earlier Reformed Orders of Baptism bears out the truth of Calvin's statement, for nothing in it appears to be directly derived from other sources. It is true that he did write on another occasion to the Magistrates of Berne to this effect: "Touchant le Baptesme, nous gardons la forme telle qu'elle estoit devant que ie feusse venue à Geneve";<sup>2</sup>

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2. Opera, XV., 538

1. Opera, IX., 894.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

but, as M. Doumergue points out, he is speaking here of the actual manner in which the ceremony is carried out rather than of the strict form of words &c., used in the rite.<sup>1</sup> What he meant to convey is that there were none of the pre-Reformation practices, such as exorcism, chrism, crossing, &c., to be found in his service.

The fact, however, that this service bears the authorship of Calvin, and its descent cannot be directly traced to the old forms, does not mean that it is not thoroughly and essentially Catholic. All that is necessary to Baptism is therein included, and clearly set forth. Nothing is included, however, that would detract from the central meaning of the rite, and the act of Baptism stands forth all the more sharply and arrestingly for the fact that no other ceremonies are included. And while there is no prayer for the sanctification of the water to its holy use, the intention of Baptism is plainly declared, and that is sufficient; it can hardly be held that the blessing of the water<sup>(howsoever desirable)</sup> is essential to the rite, nor has it ever so been held by the Church before or after the Reformation.

In the FP, Baptism by laymen is not permitted, nor is private Baptism allowed.

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1. DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii., 499.



## THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

## THE ORDER OF BAPTISME.

## MODVS AC FORMVLA BAPTISMI

First note, that for asmoche as it  
is not permitted by Godswoord, that  
1. women should preache or minister the  
Sacramentes: and it is euident, that  
the sacramentes are not ordeined of  
God to be vsed in priuat corners, as  
charmes or sorceries, but left to the  
congregation, and necessarily annexed  
to Gods woord, as scales of the same: 2.

Quandeqvidem mulierculis non per-  
mittitur ex verbo Dei vel <sup>edion</sup> ministrari,  
vel administrare sacramenta,  
similiterque constat hoc non esse sac-  
ramentorum institutum, vt seorsum in  
angulis, veluti  
incantationes ac praestigiae demurmur-  
entur, sed contra verbi ministerio,  
2. <sup>cau</sup> tesserae quaedam ac sigilla adiuncta,  
Ecclesiae vtilitati inseruiūt:  
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1. This was written with an eye to the Roman custom which permitted midwives (women) to baptize in cases of extreme necessity, if it were seen that a child might die before a priest could be summoned. The Reformers did not consider Baptism in such cases to be necessary to salvation.

9/ 2. While the wording of the rubric this far is the compilers' own, it gives utterance to the current Reformed doctrine. PULLAIN likewise forbids Baptism to be administered elsewhere than in the Church and before the face of the congregation: "In Baptismo id caueatur in primis, ne alibi quam in Ecclesia ministretur, dum ipsa conuenit ad audiendum verbum Dei." He also insists that it should be joined to preaching: "Proinde non alibi quam in Ecclesia est post concionem verbi Dei habitum baptizare oportet", but he allows also for extraordinary cases, for he adds, "nisi forte incidat occasio talis cuiusmodi legimus Actorum 8." (Lit. sac. 1554, Baptism.). CALVIN is closer to the FP. In the Proj. d'ordon. 1541 it is ordained: "Que le baptesme ne se face que a l'heure de la predication, et quil soit administre seulement par les ministres ou coadiuteurs, et qu'on enregistre les noms des enfans avec les noms de leurs parens." It is also added that "les pierres ou baptistaire soit aupres de la chaire." (Opera, X, i. p. 25). In the rubric before Baptism in the La Forme (all edns.) Baptism was directed to take place at the afternoon service (not in the morning as in FP and Pullain) on Sundays, but at the morning service after sermon on Week-days: "Il est à noter qu'on doit apporter les enfans pour baptiser, ou le Dimanche, a l'heure du Catechisme, ou les autres iours au sermon, afin que comme le Baptesme est une reception solennelle en l'Eglise, qu'il se face en la presence de l'Assemblée. Le sermon achevé on presente l'enfant. Et lors le Ministre commence à dire..." 4/ KNOX was very strict that Baptism should always be administered in the church, and does not appear to have (like Pullain, and possibly like Calvin) allowed for any extraordinary cases. This is apparent by a letter from Bishop Ridley shortly before his martyrdom to Bishop Grindal concerning the troubles at Frankfort. "Alas!", he writes, "that our brother Knox could not bear with our Book of Common Prayer.... As for private Baptism, it is not prescribed in the Book; but where solemn Baptism for lack of time and danger of death, cannot be had, what would he in that case should be done? Peradventure, he say, "—undoubtedly this is what he would have said—) "It is better then to let them dye without Baptism. For this his "better", what word hath he in the Scripture? And if he have none, why will he not rather follow that that the sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow? from whom, to dissent without warrant of God's Word, I cannot think it any godly wisdom." (LAING: KN, iv. p. 81). Knox, of course, was nothing if he was not an extremist; and his most ardent defender cannot prove him always logical. He would appeal to ancient practice if it fitted his views, while he was also able to prove strange things from Scripture, which he regarded largely as an "arsenal of texts".

The RCP took a middle view; in 1549 and 1552 the directions are the same, as follows (I quote from 1552): "The people are to be admonished, that it is most conuenient that Baptisme should not be ministred but vpon Sondayes, and other holy dayes, when the moste noubre of people may come together.... It is expedient also that Baptisme be ministred in the English tongue. Neuerthelesse (yf necessitie so requyre) chyldren may ((1549 says "ought to be")) at all tymes be Baptised at home ((1549 says, "eyther at the Church or els at home"))."

In Scotland during the early years of the Reformation private Baptism was not permitted under any circumstances. "So strict was the Church at first in this matter", writes Dr. Sprott, "that a Minister of Tranent was suspended, and obliged to make public repentance, for baptising children in private houses." (SPROTT: Mor. and Off., p. 57). He also states that the Assembly of 1582 strictly forbade Baptism in private houses (SPROTT: RCO, p. xxxvi.), but gives no reference. I have been unable to find the enactment in the B.U.K., or in any of the histories of the period. The PERTH ARTICLES, 1618, allowed private Baptism, but only "for a great and necessary cause"; they were annulled by the Glasgow Assembly, 1633. In his day, HENDERSON says it is "never ministred in private houses" (SPROTT: RCO, p. xxxvi.).

9/ The Westminster Directory, 1644, forbids Baptism "in any case" by a "private person", and expressly enjoins that it be not administered "in private houses, places, or privately, but in the place of Publique Worship, and in the face of the Congregation." English Puritan practice was similar, the early rubric of 1558 standing unaltered in the later editions, and the same enjoined in Savoy Liturgy, 1662.



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## THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

therefore the enfant, which is to be baptised, shall be broght to the churche on the day appointed to  
1.  
comen prayer and preachinge,

accompanied wyth the father and  
2.  
godfather.

So that after the Sermon, the chyld beinge presented to the minister, he demaundeth this question.

statutum est, vt infantulus Baptismo initiandus, primū ad publicā Ecclesiā adducatur, deinde vt in legitimo die fiat, quò videlicet à frequenti populo conflatus fit ad concionem: sed ita vt cum sponsore aliquo pater infantis (nisi quid eum grauioris negotii detineat) adsit.

perfecta mox concione, ab eisdem infans ministro exhibetur, qui in hanc eos sententiam interrogat.

Minister,

DO you present this childe to be VOS, an infantulum hunc exhibetis ad  
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9 / 1. In HUYCKE's translation of Calvin's rubric before-quoted, it appears that ordinarily in Geneva Baptism was required to take place on the day of the child's birth. Huycke was translating for the benefit of English reader, and in the brackets of his rubric it is very probable that he was stating exactly the Calvinistic practice, which the original rubric leaves vague, those accustomed to the usual practice not requiring such minute direction. Huycke's rubric is as follows: "Thys is to be noted: that they oughte to bryng the chyldren to be Baptized, eyther (if they happen to bee borne the Sundaye) to the sermon after dyner which (is called the Catechisme) eyther (if it happen on the workendaye) to one of the morning sermons." // What the practice of the English Congregation in 1553 was cannot be determined from direct evidence, but it is likely that it approximated Calvin's practice as nearly as possible. It was a cardinal principle of the Reformed Church that Baptism should be administered as soon as possible after the birth of the child. RUCER remonstrated against delay as "bringing contempt upon the Church and upon the whole redemption and communion of Christ" (SPROTT: Wor. and Off., p. 55), and the first sentence of the first rubric of the West. Dir. states that "Baptism... is not unnecessarily to be delayed."

2. CALVIN makes no mention of godfathers in his La Forme, but in the Projet d'ord. (Opera X, i. p. 24) he has a note which shows that ~~they were used~~ (pace GORDON: Thesis, p. xxxiv, who says that they were not required): "Quon ne receiove estrangers pour comperes que gens fidelles et de nostre communion, veu que les autres ne sont capables de faire promesse a leglise dinstruyre les enfans comme jl appartient." PULLAIN also required godfathers to be present at Baptism: "Adsunt igitur in concione pater et susceptores quos patrilinos vocant, si eorum fides Ecclesiae testata est, aut parati eam testatam facere." (First rubric in Baptismal Service, 2nd paragraph).

The RCP, 1549 and 1552, mentions both godfathers and godmothers as being present; the revision of 1661 limits the number to two godfathers and one godmother for a boy, and two godmothers and one godfather for a girl; in English pre-Reformation use only one godfather and one godmother were permitted (BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, ii. pp. 726-7).

The Baptismal register of the English Congregation at Geneva, which is still preserved in the livre des Anglois, shows that at each Baptism a godfather was present, but there is no mention of godmothers, and judging from Calvin's and Pullain's use, godmothers were not required or permitted. Indeed, it does not appear that even the mothers were present, the child being commonly presented before the mothers were able to attend the ceremony. The father and godfather took full responsibility. The fact that the father presented the child for Baptism may account for the practice now usual in Scotland of the Minister not taking the child into his arms at Baptism, but baptising while the father holds the child. Whether in Geneva the Minister held the child or whether the father cannot be determined as there is no contemporary evidence sufficiently minute to show the established practice at that time. Below are reprinted a few typical entries from the livre des Anglois, pp. 73-74 (Cf. MARTIN: Les Prets. Ang., pp. 385-8.):

Ao. 1556.

The 2 of January. John Stafford, the Sonne of Willm. Stafford, Knight, John Calvin being the godfather.

31 of Marche. Ruthe the daughter of Anthony Gilby, Thomas Wood being the godfather.

Ao. 1557.

16th of January. John the sonne of John Hollingham John Knox being the godfather.

7 of Aprill. Sara the daughter of Thomas Hancock, Anthony Gilby being the godfather.

23 of Maye. Nathanell, the sonne of John Knox, Willm. Whittingham the godfather.

17 of August. Zacharie, the sonne of Willm. Whittingham, Willm. Willms being the godfather.

Zacharie, the sonne of John Redlegh, Augustyne Pradebridge



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baptised, earnestly desiring that he  
may be ingrafted in the mysticall  
bodye of Iesus Christ? <sup>1.</sup>

The answer

Yea, we require the same.

The minister procedeth <sup>2.</sup>

Then let vs cōsider <sup>3.</sup> (dearly beloued)  
how almyghtie God hath not onely made  
vs his children by adoption and recei-  
ued vs into the fellowship of his  
churches: but also hath promised that  
he wilbe our God, and the God of our  
childrē vnto the thousand generation. <sup>4.</sup>

Baptismi lotionem? seriò id expetentes,  
vt per lauacrū regenerationis,  
in mysticum Christi corpus inseratur?

Sponsores.

Seriò ac impensè efflagitamus.

Minister.

Primum in hac re igitur perpēdendum  
est fratres, quo pacto Deus nō in fi-  
lios solū nos adoptauit sibi inautora-  
tos in felicissimā ecclesiae suae socie-  
tatem, sed addito insuper firmissimo  
promissi foedere, se obstrinxit Deū fore  
nobis, feminique nostro vsque in mille-  
simā generationem.

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Footnote continued from previous page.

being the godfather.  
Susanne, the daughter of John Farron, Christopher Goodman being  
the godfather.

As 1558.

May 1558. Naamy, the daughter of Peter Willies, John Knox the godfather.

August 25. Zacary, the son of Jhon Stubs, John Rodlayh godfather.

November 29. Eleaser, the son of Jhon Knox minister, Miles Coverdale witnesse." These entries speak for themselves, and make the practice of the English Congregation plain. The entry for the 17 August 1557, is illuminating also in this respect as it shows that the Catholic practice of baptising male children first was observed, when those of both sexes were present to be baptised at the same time. Not only were godfathers required in every instance, but the proper order was observed.

Dr. SPROTT points out that the opposition to Godfathers being present at Baptism began in Scotland with the first appearance of the Brownists there in 1584. Nevertheless, he declares, the practice still continued for many years, and it is doubtful whether it ever died out. In Aberdeen in 1822, the Session forbade any more than "four at the most." (SPROTT: RCO, p. xxxvi.). (Re the Brownists, cf. CALDERWOOD: History, iv. p. 1., where it is recorded that "Upon Thursday, the 9th of Januar, an Englishman, called Robert Brown, came to Edinburgh out of Flanders.... There came in companie with him foure or five Englishmen, with their wives and families... This Brown was their preacher. Upon Tuisday the 14th (1584), he made shew, after an arrogant manner, before the session of the kirk of Edinburgh, that he would mainteane, that witnesses at baptism (i.e. godfathers) was not a thing indifferent, but simplie evill. But he failed in the probation."). Gradually, however, the custom was discarded, till now it is uncommon.

The West. Dir. directs that the child "is to be presented by the Father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place." The Savoy Liturgy, 1661, makes no mention of godfathers or godmothers, but among the early Puritans it was the custom to have them present, as the rubric in the later editions of the FP shows. (v. HALL: Hist. Lit. i. 42).

1. This question stands in the normal Catholic place according to Continental usage. In CALVIN and PULLAIN, it is preceded by the verse: "Our help is (or "we") in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." *The verse is found at this point also in some of the early Reformed books.*
2. "The Minister, standing at the Table with (mensae astans) with the rest of the Ministers and Elders", PULLAIN's rubric reads. The font was placed near the Table, or perhaps the basin was placed upon it. According to CALVIN's custom at Geneva, it was placed near the pulpit, and the Minister apparently stood there. In later Scottish custom the Minister stood in the pulpit, to which there was fastened "a frame of iron" wherein was placed "a silver basin and ewer". (FRERETON's description of a Baptism in the College Church of Edinburgh, 1635, quoted in SPROTT: RCO, p. xxxvi.) What the practice was in the English Church at Geneva cannot be now determined. Pullain's practice, however, is of interest as witnessing again to the centrality of the Lord's Table in the early Reformed worship.
3. This exhortation is largely the compilers' own, but much of it is drawn from CALVIN and PULLAIN (which will be noted as they occur). The general aim and complexion, however, is different. CALVIN's and PULLAIN's exhortations begin with a kind of treatise on regeneration, emphasising the spiritual value of the rite, and at the end affirming the right of children to be baptised. But when Knox and his coadjutors prepared this exhortation, Anabaptism was gathering influence, so the emphasis is laid at the very beginning upon the propriety of bringing infants to Baptism, and this is given first place. In this it resembles the Anglican rite. *Calvin & Pullain are all but identical, so in the footnotes that follow, Calvin is quoted only as the original source, unless differences occur.*

4. (Ours)



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Whyche thinge as he confirmed to his people of the olde testament by the sacrament of circumcision, so hath he also renewed the same to vs, in his new testament by the sacrament of bap-

<sup>1.</sup>tisme, doing vs therby to w<sup>r</sup>it, that our infantes apperteyne to hym by co-uenant and therforeought not to be defrauded of those holy signes and

badges wherby his children are known from infidells and pagans. <sup>2.</sup>Neither is it requisite, that

all those that receyue this sacramente, haue the vse of vnderstanding and faythe, but chiefelye that they be conteyned vnder the name of gods people: So that remission of synnes in the bloode of Christ Jesus, doth appertaine to thē by Gods promise. <sup>3.</sup>

Which thing is most eident by saint Paul, who pronounceth the childrē begotten and borne either of the parents being faythful, to be cleane and holy. <sup>4.</sup>

Also our sauour Christ admitteth children to his presence, imbrasing and blessinge them. <sup>5.</sup>

Hocque foedus vt olim cum prisca testamēti populo pepēgit, per circuncisionis tesseram, idem & nobis noui testamenti filiis renouauit, per Baptismi sacramentum.

Quo nomine nihil addubitemus, & nostros infāculos, pari promissionis iure, ad eū pertinere, ac p̄inde defraudari his lauacri symbolis minimē oportere, quibus ceu peculiarib. sui ducis insignib', à reliquorū infideliū paganismo secernantur. Neque enim tā prae fractē hic Stoici simus, vt nullos putemus in sacramēti huius cōmunionem admittendos, nisi qui rationis, ac fēdei vim praesentem explicant. Satis est eos in album filiorum Dei pariter accenseri, subque eadem nobiscū promissione inclusos, remissionem peccatorū sortiri, ac dominice passionis cōpotes fieri.

Quod ex Paulo dilucidē cōstare poterit qui infantulos, saltem ex alterutro parentum fidei prognatos, mūdos tamē pronūtiat. Quid? q̄ Dominus noster ac seruator Christus, infantulos nō solū ad eū adferri, sed illis in v<sup>l</sup>nis cōplexis beneprecatur.

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Note 4 on preceeding page:

CALVIN, 1542: "Or nostre bon Dieu, ne se contentant point de nous avoir adopté pour ces enfans, et receu en la communion de son Eglise, a voulu encores estendre plus amplement sa bonté sur nous. C'est en nous promettant qu'il sera nostre Dieu, et de nostre lignée (PULLAIN: "nostrae sobolis"), iusque en mille generations."

1. CALVIN: "A ceste cause il a voulu dès le commencement, qu'en son Eglise, les enfans receussent le signe de la circoncision, par lequel il representoit lors tout ce qui nous est aujourdhuy monstre par le Baptisme."

2. CALVIN: "pour les (christian children) separer et discerner d'entre les enfans des payens et infideles."

3. CALVIN: "Car en ce sacrement il nous testifie la remission de noz pechez."

4. While CALVIN like the compilers of the FP refers to 1 Cor. vii.14 here, the words used are quite different, though the sense is similar.

5. CALVIN: "Pour ceste raison, nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ a receu les enfans, qu'on lui presentoit."  
RCP, 1552: "He embrased them in hys armes, he layde his handes vpō them, and blessed them."



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Which testimonies of the holy ghoste assure vs, that infants be of the number of Gods people: and that remission of synnes doth also apperteyne, to them in Christ.

Therefore without iniurie they can not be debarred from the common signe of Gods children.<sup>1</sup>

Neither yet

is this outward action of suche necessity, that the lacke therof, should be prejudiciall to their saluation, yf abripiatur infantulus, eum certe dānationi that preuented by deathe, thei may not

conueniently be presented to the church.<sup>2</sup>

But we (hauinge respect to that obedience which Christians owe to the voice and ordinance of Christ Iesus, who commanded to preache and baptise all, wyth out exception)

do iudge theym onely vnworthy of anie fellowship wyth him, who contemptuously refuse suche ordinary meanes, as his wisdom hath appointed to the instruction of our dull senses.

Furthermore it is euident that baptism was ordeined, to be ministred in the element of water, to teache vs, that lyke as water outwardly dothe washe a way the fylthe of the bodye, so inwardly dothe the vertue of

Quibus argumētis satis non docet Spiritus S. etiā infantilem aetatem non eximendam ē societate ac regno Dei, ipsam nihilominus pertinere in Christo.

Quae cum ita sint, planē sine iniuria his intercludi vsus fructusque Baptismi non poterit. Quos enim Christus ipse non voluit à rebus ipsis esse alienos, nos an vmbras duntaxat ac formas rerum illis non dignabimur? Quanquam

hic rursus adhibenda cautio est, ne sic externae actioni prorsus affigamur, ut si quis ante Baptismum praematura morte abripiatur infantulus, eum certe dānationi ilico subiiciamus.

Sed respiciendū est potius ad obedientiā, quam Christiani omnes voci ac imperio Christi nostri ducis debeamus, qui per vocē Euangelii omnes promiscuē, citra exceptionē, ad Baptismi cōmuniōne vocat, quicunque sub Patris misericordia continentur. Neque enim quibus vita deest ad Baptismum, sed quibus in vitae copia voluntas adest Baptismi cōtemptrix, eos demum indignos Christi societate ducimus: quippe qui illius ordinationem cum contemptu reiciunt, in hoc paratā, ut in tanta sensuū nostrorū tarditate nobis pro testimonio & documēto fidei confirmāde inseruiet. Itaque sacramētum hoc aqua peragi praecepit Christus, quòd videlicet, externae huius lotionis ductu ac similitudine, facili' influeret animis nostris, vis ac efficientia passionis ip-

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1. CALVIN: "Puis qu'il denonce, que le Royaulme des Cieulx leur appartient, qu'il leur impose les mains et les recommande a Dieu son Pere: il nous instruiot suffisamment que nous ne les devons point exclurre de son Eglise."

2. This was in direct denial of the Roman doctrine of the period, that unbaptised children are not saved. Cf. e.g., DANTE: *Divina Commedia*, Inferno. The doctrine there set forth had not changed in the 16th century in the Roman Church.

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lotione repurgatur. Vbi  
tamē hoc rursus monendum  
est, ne in externa

Christs blood purge our sowles from  
that corruption and deadly poyson  
wherwith by nature we were infected.<sup>1</sup>  
Whose venomous dreggs, altho<sup>gh</sup> they  
continewe in this our flesh, yet by  
the merits of his deathe, are not im-  
puted vnto vs, by cause the iustice  
of Iesus Christ, is made ours by bap-  
tisme.

(for many  
haue bene baptised  
and yet neuer inwardly purged)<sup>2</sup>  
but that our sauour Christe,  
who commanded baptisme to be minis-  
tered, will  
by the power of his holy spirite,  
effectually worke in the harts of his  
elect (in tyme conuenient) all that is  
ment and signified by the same. And  
this the scripture calleth our regen-  
eration, which standeth chiefli in  
these two points, in mortificatiō,  
that is to say, a resisting of the re-  
bellious lustes of the flesche: and in  
newnes of lyffe, wherby we continually  
stryue to walke in that purenes, and  
perfection, wherwyth we are cladd in  
baptisme.

And although we in the iourney of this  
lyffe be incumbred wyth many ennemies,  
whych in the way assayle vs:

yet fyght we  
not wyth out  
fruite:

sus, in abluendis animis nostris natura  
vitiatis, ac laetifero peccati veneno  
infectis.  
Cuius veneni feces, licet in carne vs-  
que inhaereant: tamen in  
Christo iam insitis, non  
imputantur, intus nos abludente sanguinis  
illius aspersione, haud aliter quā cor-  
pus externa aqua, aut actione ipsa tantū in-  
esse energiae putamus, quasi ipsum per se  
elementum peccata expungat: multos enim  
baptisatos fuisse constat, quorum animi  
nihilo tamen emaculationes sunt reddit.  
Verū ea res duntaxat ad Christum referēda  
est: qui, vt author existit Sacramenti: ita  
non dubium quin simul cum Sacramento prae-  
sens affuturus sit, per opportunam gratiā  
suam, id intus in animis suorum perficiens,  
quod externa hac aquae perfusione innuitur.  
Haec  
spiritualis nostra est regeneratio,  
quae duabus potissimum rebus  
cernitur, Mortificatione,  
quae debellatrix est affectum  
in carne tumultuantium: ac  
Vitae nouitate, quae nūquam non  
solicita est, vt ad puritatis  
perfectionem contendat.

Et quanquam lucta quaedam ac militia cō-  
tinua est, vita haec nostra super terram:  
nec tam continua, quā venemens etiam &  
varia, quippe tot salebris in hac itinere  
impediti, tot periculis ac insidiis qua-  
quaversum occursantibus obsiti, tot hos-  
tibus in exitium nostrum intentissimis,  
impetiti sumus: qui nunquam desinunt nobis  
molestiam facessere. Pugnamus tamen ad-  
uersus tot impetus, pro sua quisque statione,  
licet non sine magno taedio: non sine <sup>maiori</sup> tamen  
fructu. Nam cum caelestis Christi potentia

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1. CALVIN: "Et pour ceste cause, il a ordonné le signe de l'eau, pour nous figurer,  
que comme par cest element les ordures corporelles sont nettoyes, ainsi il veult  
laver et purifier voz ames, afin, qu'il n'y apparaisse plus aucune macule."  
The precise expression, "fylthe of the bodye", is no doubt taken directly from  
HUYCKE's translation, but in the next part that is not closely followed in the translation.  
2. These expressions of opinion are not found in any other liturgies of the period.



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For this continuall bataill which we fight against synne, deathe, & hell, is a moste infallible argumēt, that God the father, mīdfull of his promise made vnto vs in Christ Iesu, doth not only gyue vs motions and courage to resist them: but also assurance to ouercome, <sup>1.</sup> & ad obtaine victorie.

Wherefore (dearly beloued) it is not only of necessity that we be once baptised, <sup>2.</sup> but also it profiteth oft to be present at the ministration thereof: that we being putt in minde of the league and conuenant\* made betwixt God and vs, that he wilbe our God, and we his people, he our father, and we his children, may haue occasion as wel to trye our liues past, as our present couersatiō: and to proue our selues, whether we stand fast in the faithe of Gods elect: or contrariwise haue strayed frō hī through the incredulite and vngodly lyuinge: wherof if our cōsciēces do accuse vs, yet by hearing the louing promises of our heauēly father (who calleth all mē to mercie by repētance) we may frō hēsforthe walke more warely in our vocatiō.

Moreouer, ye that be fathers & mothers may take hereby moste singuler cōfort, to se your childrē thus receuyed in to the bosome of Christes cōgregatiō, wherby you are daily admonished that ye norishe & brīg vp the childrē of Gods fauor & mercye, ouer whō his fatherly pūdece watcheth continually.

(quam in Baptismo induimus) nunquam suos desertos patitur, tum potissimum concertationes hae, atque agones aduersus peccatū, morte, ac inferos nos certius confirmāt, quōd Deus Pater non immemor sui foederis, quod nobiscū in Christo Filio pepigit, nō solum hos motus, ac resistēdi volūtātē sufficit suggerītq;: sed & firmā addit porrō fiduciam victoriae olim plenae consequendae. Quapropter non modō satis fuerit (in Christo fratres) nos ipsos semel Baptismo tinctos esse: quī etiā nō parū id contulerit, subīde nos Sacramēti hui' administrationi interesse, quō saepi' repetētes memoriā diuini foederis nobiscum initi, se nobis Deū ac Patrē, nos illi in populū ac filios fore pmittētis, occasionē huic maiorē accipiamus explorādi tum fidē nostrā, quō magis reuigescat, tum mores, vt respondeant professioni.

Ad haec vos qui parentes estis, haud mediocrē hinc consolationē referetis, cū liberos vestros in Ecclesiae Christianae cōplexus, simulq; in diuinae prouidētiae clientela recipi intelligatis.

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\*covenant

1. CALVIN: "Nous y auons certain tesmoignage, ... qu'il nous assistera par son saint Esprit, afin que nous puissions batailler contre le Diable, le peché et le conuaincre de son Regne...."
2. The Reformers of course accepted Roman Catholic Baptism. KNOX says, in answer to the question, whether a man should be re-baptised after "he cometh to knowledge", that "he aught not; First, becaus Chrystis institution, as said is, culd not be utterlie abolissit be the malice of Sathan, nor be the abuse of man. Secundlie, becaus the Spreit of Chryst purgeth and removeth fra us all sic venneune as we ressavit of thair handis; and superstition maketh not

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Which thing as it ought greatly to reioyse you (knowing that nothing cā chauce vnto thē wyth out his good pleasure) So ought it to make you diligēt, ād carefull, to nurture and instruct thē in the true knowledge ād feare of God. Wherin if you be negligēt, ye do not only iniurie to your own childrē hydinge frō thē the good will and pleasure of almyghtie God their father: but also heape dānatiō vpo your selues, in sufferinge his childrē boght wyth the bloode of his deare sōne, so trayterously (for lacke of knowledge) to turne backe frō hī.

Therefore

it is your duety, with all diligēce to pūide that your childrē in tyme conuenient, be instructed in all doctrine necessarie for a true Christiā: chiefly that they be taught to rest vpon the iustice of Christ Iesus alone, and to abhorre and flee all superstitiō, papistrie, and idolatrie. Finally, to the intent that we may be assured, that you the father and the suretie consent to the performāce hereof, declare here before God and the face of his congregation the somme of that faith, wherein you beleue, and will instruct this childe.<sup>1.</sup>

Quae res cū vobis sūmo esse solatio poterit,

tū impensius vigilātiā vestrā excitare debet, vt diligentius istos Dei ipsius alūnos in cognitione ac timore Dei informādos accuretis. Qua in re si remissiores futuri sitis, non tam illorū saluti officitis, quos nulla noticia diuinae volutatis ac praeceptorū imbutis, quā vobis ipsis grauius accersitis dānationis pōdus, qui incuria vestra horū animulas, adorādo Christi sanguine redēptas, à Domino suo turpiter desciscere, ac ob ignorātiā perire finitis. Dāda igitur erit vobis opera, ne malae fidei hīc spōsore videamini: verū pro officio vestro sic curetis infantulos vestros simul cū aetate instituendos, in sana Christi fide:

vt nusquā figētes salutis spē, praeterquam in illo vno:

omnē idolatriā, Papismum ac superstitionem effugiant. Idq; quò certius nobis constet nū rectè praestare valeatis, vōs qui parentis ac fideiussores adestis, publicitus hīc fidei vestrae articulos profiteamini.

Then the father or in his absence,  
the God father shal rehearse the

Sub haec pater, aut eius (si  
absit ipse) nomine fideiussor,  
\*\*\*\*\*

Footnote continued from preceding page:

the vertew of Chrystis institution to be ineffectuall in us." (LAING: KW, iv. 121-122.). SPROTT says that Calvin in cases of necessity bade parents present their children to Roman Priests for Baptism (Wor. and Off. p. 56.) While in Scotland in 1565 the Assembly declared that "When childreyn, baptized by a Papisticall priest, or in a Papisticall manner, come to yeeres of understanding, they should be instructed in the doctrine of salvation.. before they be admitted to the Lord's Table. Which if they doe, they need not the externall forme to be reiterated; for no priest ministreth baptisme without water, and the forme of words, which are the principall externall parts of Baptisme." (CALDERWOOD: Hist. ii. 302.)

1. This last section is slightly reminiscent of the post-batismal exhortation in the RCP, though the similarity is remote. CALVIN has a short preface to the Creed in his Baptismal Service which compares with this: "Puis qu'il est question de recevoir cest enfant en la compagnie de l'Eglise Chrestienne: vous promettez, quand il viendra en eage de discretion, de l'instruire en la doctrine, laquelle est xps receue au peuple de Dieu, comme elle est sommairement comprise en la confession de Foy, que nous auons tous."



## THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

1.  
articles of his faith, which  
doone, the minister exhorting  
the people to praye, sayeth in  
this manner or such lyke knee-  
ling.  
2.

fidei summā reddit: quod vbi  
perfectum fuerit, minister  
ita precatur.

ALMIGHTIE ad euerlasting God, which DOMINE DEUS, Pater aeternae & omnipotens,  
of thy infinite mercie and goodnes, qui pro infinita misericordia tua  
\*\*\*\*\*

1. The "articles of his faith" are the Apostles' Creed. At the Reformation the Calvinists frequently referred to the Creed under that title. PULLAIN uses it, e.g. in his afternoon service, where he says, "Pueri... rogantur de singulis articulis fidei, legis, et orationis dominicae" (Lit. sac. 1554.), and STRYPE summarises the service as follows: "At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children are catechised and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the 10 commandments, for an hour." In his Catechism, CALVIN refers to the Creed in the same terms. Further, we can be reasonably certain that it was the Apostles' Creed here, first, because the other Reformed Church liturgies of the period (German, Calvin's, Pullain's, A'Lasco's) used the Creed at this point (~~as is the Catholic practice~~); secondly, because in the BCO in Scotd. (1582) in 1564, a long explanation of the "articles of faith" follows its recitation, and this explanation follows the order of the Apostles' Creed, and if it had been the xx Confession of Faith at the beginning of the FP which had been recited such an explanation would have been unnecessary; and finally, in the later Middleburg edition of the FP the Apostles' Creed is used. There can be no doubt that it is to it that the phrase "articles of faith" refers. (The reference from Strype above is from his Eccl. Mem. xx II. ii. p. 380). (Small's Lit. Sac. 1, 48)

2. This is the only reference in the FP to the attitude during prayer, and it is omitted in the BCO, EXX 1582 onwards, and in the later editions of the FP. There can be no doubt, however, that at this time, kneeling was the common attitude adopted by people and Minister during prayer, and the reference crept in here unawares; it is not mentioned elsewhere because it was taken for granted. PULLAIN's Lit. sac. is similar in this respect. Ordinarily no mention is made of that which does not require to be mentioned, but in the marriage service, after the Gospel and the short Exhortation following, there occurs this rubric before the last prayer: "Hic tota Ecclesia procumbit in genua". Likewise CALVIN does not mention it in his La Forme, but M. DOUMERGUE has shown clearly what Calvin's mind was concerning this matter: 'Have we here a human tradition that we may accept or ignore, as we please?', he asks, and quotes Calvin's reply— "Je dy qu'elle est tellement humaine, quelle est aussi (simul) divine." "Et", adds M. Doumergue, "il declare que flechir le genou, ou ensevelir un corps mort, sont des choses qu'on peut negliger, sans crime, sauf les cas d'impossibilité materielle." (CALVIN: Inst. chret. IV. x. 30; DOUMERGUE: Calvin ii. 503; for Calvin's whole attitude to ceremonies of op.cit. pp. 499-503). And Calvin's Genevan practice is testified to in a letter which Calvin wrote 'Concerning Ecclesiastical rites'. He was speaking of the need of an Absolution after the Confession of Sins, and deplores the fact that he gave way too easily to popular sentiment in omitting it, but adds "now it would not be reasonable to make any change; because the greatest part of ~~the~~ people begin to rise up before we come to the end of the confession." (RRINGHAM: Works, ii. 762, quoted by RAIRD: On Lits. p. 22, footnote; and by SPROTT: Lits of Jas VI).

The Book of Discipline in the French Churches, 1559, also orders that kneeling be the attitude during prayer. The following is the article 1, canon 10 in QUICK's Synodicon: "That great irreverence which is found in divers persons, who at public and private prayers do neither uncover their heads nor bow their knees, shall be reformed; which is a matter repugnant unto piety, and giveth suspicion of pride, and scandalises them that fear God. Wherefore, all pastors and shall be advised, as also elders and heads of families, carefully to oversee, that in time of prayer all persons, without exception or acception, do evidence by these exterior signs the inward humility of their hearts, and homage which they yield to God; unless anyone be hindered from so doing by sickness and otherwise." (quoted by RAIRD: On Lits. p. 27.)

Dr. Sprott tells us that "kneeling was the common posture in prayer" in the early days of the Reformation in Scotland, and quotes abundant evidence to that effect. The Glasgow Session, in 1587, admonished "all persons in time of prayer to bend their knees to the ground" (Wodrow edn. Life of Weems, p. 22). Randolph tells of a young French gentleman in Glasgow in 1580 attracting attention at public worship "by standing while other men kneeled upon their knees" (Cal. Scot. Papers, p. 239); while the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1595 ordered all to "humble themselves upon their knees in the kirk in times of prayer" (Maitland Club, Miscellany i. p. 72). SPROTT (BCO, pp. lv-lvi) quotes some of the above instances, and several others (e.g. CALDERWOOD: Hist. vi. 651; vii. 876; Alt. Damas., p. 785), leaving no doubt whatever about the early practice in Scotland.

The later practice in England and Scotland is not within the scope of this thesis. But the early practice was consistently to kneel for prayer in all branches of the Reformed Church; it was in a decadent age that the practice changed.



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hast promised vnto vs, that thou wilt not only be our God, but also the God & father of our childrē; we beseeche thee that as thou hast vouchesaue to call vs to be partakers of this thy great mercie in the felowshipe of faith: so it may please thee to sanctifie with thy sprite, and to receiue in to the number of thy children this infant, whom we shall baptise accordig to thy woord, to the end that he coming to perfite age, may cōfesse thee onely the true God, & ad whome thou hast sent Iesus Christ: and so serue him, and be profitable vnto his church, in the whole course of his life: that after this life be ended, he may be brought as a lyuely mēber of his body vnto the full fruition of thy ioyes in the hea- uē, where thy sonne our Christ reigneth world wyth out end. <sup>1.</sup> In whose name we pray as he hath taught vs.

pollicitus es, non solum te nobis: sed & liberis nostris Deum fore ac Patrem, rogamus, vt quemadmodum nos ad tantam hanc gratiae ac fidei communionem vocare sis dignatus: infantulum hunc, quem ex Verbo tuo Baptismi symbolo insignimus, Spiritu tuo sanctifices, ac in electorum tuorum societatem recipias, adeo, vt grandescens, te solum verū Deum, & quem misisti Iesum Christum agnoscat, eique omni vitae suae cursu seruiat, & Ecclesiae <sup>/profit;</sup> ~~pro~~fit: donec post finitum vitae huius curriculum, ad caelestium bonorū perfruitionem, tanquam viuidium corporis membrum perducatur, vbi regnat Christus in omnem seculorum perennitatem: cuius te nomine, ita vt instituit, comprecamur.

Our father etc. <sup>2.</sup> Pater noster, &c.  
\*\*\*\*\*

1. This prayer is based on Calvin's, but it does not follow it slavishly. It is shorter than CALVIN's (and PULLAIN's), some of the petitions are omitted (notably the one for the remission of original sin), and others are inter- changed; while a more direct emphasis is laid upon Baptism as being the ini- tiatory rite of the Church by which the child is received into the flock of Christ's children. CALVIN's prayer is as follows // (Pullain follows Calvin almost exactly, and Huxley has little or no influence on the translation above in the FP, and is a <sup>literal</sup> translation of Calvin):

"Seigneur Dieu, Pere eternal et tout puissant, puis qu'il t'a plu, par ta clemence infinie, nous promettre que tu seras Dieu de nous et de nos enfans: nous te prions, qu'il te plaise de confermer ceste grace en l'enfant present, engendré de pere et de mere, lesquels tu as appellés en ton Eglise: et comme il t'est offert et consacré de par nous, que tu le vueilles recevoir en ta sainte protection, te declarant estre son Dieu et Sauueur, en luy remettant le peché original, duquel est coupable toute la lignée d'Adam: puis apres le sanctifiant par ton Esprit: afin que quand il viendra en eage de ~~may~~ congnois- sance, il te reconnoisse et adore, comme son seul Dieu, te glorifiant en toute sa vie, pour obtenir tousiours de toy remission de ses pechez. Et afin qu'il puisse obtenir telles graces, qu'il te plaise l'incorporer en la com- munion de nostre Seigneur Iesus pour estre participant de tous ses biens, comme l'un des membres de son corps. Exauce nous Pere de misericorde: afin que le Baptisme, que nous luy communiquons selon ton ordonnance, produise son fruit et sa vertu, telle qu'elle nous est declarée par ton Euaingile Nostre Pere..."

In none of the liturgies is there a prayer or petition for the sanctification of the water to its holy use as in the RCP. The West. Directory, however, does enjoin such a prayer. The rubric is as follows: "Prayer is also to be joined with the word of Institution, for sanctifying the water to its spiritual use, and the Minister is to pray to this or the like effect..."

2. The Lord's Prayer was repeated at this point in all the Reformed Liturgies. This was true to Catholic custom, for in the old services the parent and sureties were accustomed to repeat the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer on behalf of the child to be baptised. (CABROL: Liturgical Prayer, p. 247.)

Take away words  
+ place this  
sentence  
before in a  
separate place

no space



THE ORDER FOR BAPTISM

When they haue prayed in this  
sort, the minister requir-  
eth the childes name which  
known

He saith.

N. I baptise thee in the  
name of the father, of  
the sonne, and of the ho-  
ly ghoste.<sup>1.</sup>

And as he speaketh these woords,  
he taketh water in his hãd  
and layeth it vpon the childes  
forehead. Which done he gi-  
ueth thankes, as followeth

FOR asmoche moste holy, & merci-  
full father, as thou doest not onely  
beawtifie and blesse vs w<sup>th</sup> cõmon  
benefits, like vnto the rest of man-  
kinde, but also heapest vpon vs  
moste abundantly, rare and wonder-  
full gyftes: of dutye we lyft vp  
our eyes and mindes vnto thee, and  
gyue thee moste hũble thankes for  
thy infinite goodnes: which  
haste not only nombred vs emongest  
thy saincts, but also of thy free  
mercie doest call our children vnto  
thee, markinge theim w<sup>th</sup> thys Sac-  
rament as a singuler token & badge  
of thy loue. Wherefore most louing  
father, thegh we be not able to de-  
serue this so greate benefite (yea  
if thou wouldest hãdle vs accordinge  
to our merits, we shulde suffer the  
punishemẽt of eternall deathe and  
dãnatiõ)

Post hæc minister sollicitatur  
pueri nomen, quo reddito, mox  
aquam accipit, simulque fren-  
tem eius aut verticẽ molliter  
perfũdit, cum his verbis,

N. Baptiso te in nomine Patris,  
& Filii, & Spiritus sancti,  
Amen.

Sequitur rursus precatiuncula.

QVANDOquidem sanctissime ac optime  
Pater, tu is es, quẽ nõ solum commun-  
ibus, vt reliquum genus hominum,  
beneficiis:  
sed inusitatis ac stupẽdis nos  
prolixẽ ornas & cumulas:  
meritõ  
ad te animos & oculos attollimus,  
ac gratias, quas possumus maximas,  
pro infinita tua clemẽtia habemus: qui  
nõ tãtũ nos in Sanctorum tuorum con-  
tubernium conscripsisti: verũ liberos  
etiam nostros gratuitõ ad te accer-  
sis, atque adeõ Sacramento hoc, id  
est, praeclarissima amoris tui tes-  
sera, consignas. Quamobrem, benignis-  
sime Pater, licet tenuiores simus,  
quã vt tam eximiam munificenciam  
promereamur: (imò si pro meritis nos  
tracteres nostris, mortis ac aeterni  
supplicii necessariõ lueremas poenas)

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1. Baptism here is with the essential Catholic formula, following the Latin.  
The Greek of Matthew xxvii. 19 is "into the name...&c" (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα) and HENDERSON in 1640 says that he used the formula with "into" in Scotland, but "in" has always been the common Protestant usage. CALVIN and PULLAIN (all in Latin) have questions and a vow preceding the act of Baptism, in which the parent or godfather solemnly promises to instruct the child in the Xian faith. In this book of 1556 this undertaking is also required of the parents, but it takes the form of an admonition to that effect at the end of the exhortation, rather than the form of a vow, as with Calvin.

# THE FORM FOR BAPTISM

yet for Christes sake we beseeche thee, that thou wilt cofirme this thy fauour more and more towards vs, and take this infant into thy tuition and defence, whom we offer and present vnto thee wyth common supplications, and neuer suffer him to fall to such vnkindnes, wherby he shuld lose the force of his baptisme, but that he may perceyue thee continually to be his mercifull fater, through thy holy spirite, working in his hart: by whose diuine power, he may so preuayle against Satan, that in the end, obteyning the victorie, he may be exalted into the liber-<sup>1.</sup> tie of thy kingdome.

tamen propter Christum nos te obsecramus tuum, vt & hac gratiam in nobis confirmationem reddas, & infantulum hunc, quem tibi communibus votis offerimus ac consecramus, in patrocinium tuum recipias: neue patiaris, vt eo ingratitude vnquam deueniat, quo huius Baptismi vim extinguat: sed vt te semper taquam parentem propitium, per Spiritum tuum sanctum praesto sentiat, cuius diuina ope satanam ac peccatum tandiu propellat, quoad tandem victoriam adeptus, in iustitiae ac libertatis tuae regnum euehatur.

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1. This fine prayer is not found in CALVIN, PULLAIN, A'LASCO, nor in any other of the Reformed Liturgies (nor is there any prayer more than a special blessing at this point), so it would seem to be wholly a product of the compilers themselves. Its form approaches the eucharistic form, and it deserves to rank high among the prayers in the book. The Westminster Directory follows the EP in directing a prayer after Baptism, and it also directs that it be of this scope and content, using many of the phrases here. There is no Blessing included in this service, but according to usage, the Great Prayer would follow, and after it a Psalm, and finally the Blessing used in the Sunday Morning service.

## Note on Confirmation.

There is no form in this book for an Order of Confirmation, and Confirmation was not practised in the English Congregation at Geneva. All that was done was to instruct the child in the Faith, and when it reached the age of discretion it was examined by the Minister and Elders, and received to the Lord's Supper. That is specially enjoined in the First Book of Discipline: "None are apt to be admitted to the Myserie (of the Lord's Supper) who can not formally say the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Belief, and declare the source of the Law." (LAING: K.W., p. 241, vol. ii.). CALVIN also did not practise the rite of Confirmation, though he says in the third volume of his Tracts, that "we should like to see that rite everywhere restored, by which the young are presented to God, after giving forth the confession of their faith." (Tracts iii. 288.), and adds in the Institutes, that he should like also to have the laying on of hands revived: "This laying on of hands which is done simply by way of blessing, I commend, and would like to see it restored to its pure use at the present day." (Instit. IV., xix., 4-13).

An excellent statement of the history and meaning of the rite in relation to the Reformed Church will be found in The Church Service Society Annual, 1929-30, pp. 31-42, by the Revd. D. Bruce Nicol, M.C., F.D. Compare also WOTHERSPOON & KILPATRICK: A Manual of Church Doctrine.

*Maybe why not form should appear after baptism not before is not known*



THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

THE MANER OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

RATIO ADMINISTRANDAE COENAE DOMINICAE.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

In the Introduction to the Sunday Morning Service the relation between the FP, 1556, and the old services was shown, and that relation applies also to the latter part of the service, here placed in a separate section entitled 'The Maner of the Lordes Supper'. Only when Communion formed a part of the service was the diet of Reformed Worship really complete. As Lacheret has written: "Quoi qu'il en soit, dans le conception de Calvin, le culte chrétien comprenait deux parties distinctes: le culte ordinaire n'en était que la première partie; un culte de Sainte-Cène largement développé et composé de lectures, de prières et de chants, devait le compléter et lui donner sa conclusion naturelle et son véritable couronnement."<sup>1</sup> Calvin's great biographer, M. Deumergue, bears a like witness: "Enfin, après ces actes d'adoration, ces prières à genoux, cette vivifiante instruction, le culte s'achève par la cérémonie suprême, la sainte Cène. On l'a trop méconnu. Pour Calvin le culte complet, c'est le culte où l'on célèbre la sainte Cène, et la liturgie complète du dimanche matin, c'est la liturgie qui comprend la célébration de la Cène..... Dira-t-on que le culte..... le vrai culte calviniste était, par nature, pauvre et froid? Ceux qui y ont assiste nous ont raconte qu'ils ne pouvaient souvent retenir leurs larmes d'émotion et de joie. Chants et prières, adoration et édification, confession et absolution des péchés, actes rituels et actes spontanés, tous les éléments essentiels existaient; et, fait peut-être non moins important, ils étaient réunis dans un organisme très simple, mais souple et fort. Calvin en effet est de tous les Réformateurs celui qui a le plus rejeté la division du culte en deux parties, une toute

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1. Revue chrétienne, 1886, p. 772.



INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

entière liturgique, l'autre toute entière à la discretion de l'of-  
ficient, selon la mode catholique, luthérienne ou anglicane. Le  
culte calviniste est un.<sup>1</sup> All this applies equally to  
the FP, 1556. The ordinary Sunday morning service  
might stand alone (as it often did) as the Liturgy  
of the Word; but it reached its full fruition and  
only  
crowning<sup>A</sup> when there was joined to it the Liturgy  
of the Upper Room.

The Order for Communion here set forth is drawn  
in the main from Calvin, derived as a rule through  
Huycke or Pullain, with certain re-arrangements and  
additions peculiar to itself. Part of the exher-  
tation is drawn from the BCP, which appears also  
to have influenced the order by bringing the  
Exhortation between the Prayer for all Estates  
and the Consecration. The following table will  
show the relation in structure, while the footnotes  
to the pages following will give the relations in details.

| Psalter, 1539 (K)  | Calvin, 1545 (N)<br>Pullain, 1551 &c.<br>(P, P, Q)  | FP, 1556 (R)  | BCP, 1552  |
|--|---|---|--|
| Sermon   | Sermon  | Sermon  | Sermon   |
| Exhortation  | Offering <sup>2</sup> .   |   | Offering & Senta.  |
| Apostles' Creed<br>sung by people<br>while Minister<br>prepares elements.                |   |   |  |
| Great Prayer +<br>Consecration +<br>Lord's Prayer  | Great Prayer +<br>Prayer of Approach +<br>Lord's Prayer para.<br><br>Apostles' Creed<br>sung by people<br>while elements are<br>prepared by Min.<br><br>Prayer of Consecrn.<br>Lord's Prayer <sup>3</sup> . | Great Prayer +<br>Lord's Prayer =<br><br>Apostles' Creed<br>said, by Min.<br><br>Psalm in metre<br>while elements<br>are prepared | Prayer for all<br>estates  |
| Exhortation<br>Warrant   | Warrant<br>Exhortation  | Warrant<br>Exhortation  | Exhortation & Invit <sup>n</sup> .<br>Conf. Ab <sup>n</sup> ., Conf. Words.<br>Consecration & Fraction |
| Fraction, Delivery,<br>Communion while<br>Luther's 'Gott sey is sung<br>gelobet' is sung | Fraction, Delivery,<br>Communion while<br>Psa. 103. is sung   | Consecration<br>Fraction, Delivery,<br>Communion while<br><del>Scripture is read.</del><br>Scripture is read.                     | Communion  |
| Post-com.prayer<br>Blessing  | Post-com.prayer<br>Hanc igitur <sup>3</sup> .<br>Blessing   | Post-com. prayer.<br>Psa. 103.<br>Blessing  | Lord's Prayer +<br>Post-communion prayer.<br>Gloria in excelsis.<br>Blessing.                          |

1. Calvin's service  
2. Calvin's service  
3. Calvin's service

1. DOUMERGUE: Calvin ii. 503-504.  
2. Calvin's service in Pullain only + Calvin in his pref. v. p.  
3. Calvin's service, ed. 1545 only.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

Owing to the extreme brevity of the rubrics (the book was written not as a guide to future generations, but for the immediate use of men who were already familiar with the customary procedure), it is impossible for us to state authoritatively precisely how the service was conducted, but by a careful comparison with the kindred rites quoted at length in the <sup>Notes</sup> ~~foot~~notes, an attempt has been made as far as possible to define the actual practice in the Form of Prayer.

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## THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

THE MANNER OF THE LORDS  
SUPPER.RATIO ADMINISTRANDAE COENAE  
DOMINICAE.

The day when the lordes supper  
is ministred which commolye  
is vsed once a monthe, <sup>1.</sup> or so  
oft as the Congregation shall  
thinke expedient, the minister  
vseth to saye as followeth.

Quo die Dominica Coena peragitur,  
quae fere de mēse in mensem fit,  
aut quoties ex usu Ecclesiae  
magis videbitur, minister in  
hanc formam exorditur.

LET vs marke deare bretherne, and

ANIMOS auresque summa attentione (viri

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1. In SCOTLAND the same rubric appeared in the RCO, but in the First Bk. of Disc. "four tymes in the yeare" was thought "sufficient to the administration of the Lordis Tabill", care being taken that they do not fall at the time of any of the Festivals of the Christian Year. (LAING: KW, ii., pp. 239-240). It seems certain, therefore, that in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation, Communion was not celebrated monthly, but less frequently, and that the emphasis was laid upon the last part of the rubric rather than the first. At the fifth Session of the General Assembly, held on the last day of December, 1562, it was ordained "That ane uniforme order sall be taken or kept in ministration of the Sacraments... according to the Kirk of Geneva. Attour ordains, ~~That the~~ <sup>st</sup> Communion be administrated foure times in the yeere within the Burrowes, and twyse in the yeere toward landwart" (R.U.K., p. 18). The reason for the infrequency in the country places was no doubt due to the shortage of Ministers at this time, but it soon hardened into a cherished tradition, and in many country parishes in Scotland to this day, Communion is celebrated only once or twice a year, though happily the custom is now dying out, and more frequent celebrations are being introduced, while in some of the town churches, monthly Communion is the rule. (E.g. in the Cathedral church of St. Gile's, Edinburgh.)

In ENGLAND, the rubric above remained unchanged with regard to times in the editions of the FP used by the Puritans, and monthly Communion seems to have been the desirable practice, as it is today in the Presbyterian Church of England. In the Savoy Liturgy, one hundred years later, there is no mention of times, but the West. Dir., 1644, reflecting English practice, ordained that "the Communion or Supper of the Lord is frequently to be celebrated".

Judging from the above rubric, the practice in the English Congregation at Geneva, was monthly Communion; that also was PULLAIN's practice as we see from his rubric "Celebratur coena primo quoque Dominico die cuius libet mensis" (edn. 1554).

At Geneva, CALVIN had quarterly Communion as we see by the Proj. d'ordon., 1541: "Toutesfoys pour au present y avons advise et ordonne ~~qu'elle~~ que elle soyt administrée quatre fois l'annee assavoir a Noel, pasques, penthecoste et le premier dymanche de septembre en aulthone" (Opera, X. i. 25. Calvin did not go to the extreme of avoiding the Christian Festivals, as in Scotland, but on the contrary celebrated them specially. In this he was at one with the rest of the Reformed Church (except Zwingli) as we see by the Second Confession of Helvetia—cf. HAY FLEMING: Ref. in Scotd., pp. 259-260). This <sup>infrequent</sup> was not <sup>Communion</sup> to his liking, but was forced on him by the Magistrates. He with the other Ministers had desired monthly Communion at the least, as we see by the ~~original~~ of the Proj. d'ord., for where the above quotation stands, the following original <sup>recommenda</sup> drawn up by the Ministers themselves is crossed out: "Parquoy sera bon que tousiours une fois le mois elle (the Communion) soit administrée en la ville...". (Opera, ibid.) This was disallowed by the Magistrates, however, and the first quoted above substituted. And in 1561, Calvin still regretted that quarterly Communion was the rule, for he wrote: "When I first came here (Geneva), they celebrated Communion only three times a year, so that between Whitsun Communion and Christmas Communion there was (a gap of) seven months. I should have liked to have had it once a month, but seeing that I should not succeed in convincing the people, it seemed to me preferable (satius) to give way to their weakness rather than to struggle obstinately on (pertinacius)." (~~Opera, X. i. 213—of DOUMERGUE: Calvin, ii. p. 502).~~ As a matter of fact, he really desired to have Communion weekly, the Lord's own service on the Lord's own day. We see that plainly in 1537, in the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques submitted to the Magistracy before his forced departure to Strasburg. In them he said: "Il seroyt bien a desirer que la communication de la sainte Cene de Iesuchrist fust tous les dimanches pour le moins en vsage." (Opera X. i. p. 7). And in the last edition of the Institutes he is equally explicit regarding the proper and desirable practice: "A tout le moins, chaque semaine une fois.. Certes ceste coustume, laquelle commande de communiquer une fois l'an est une très certaine invention du diable... Il falloit bien qu'on fist autrement. On devoit a tout le moins chacune semaine une fois, proposer a la congregation des chrestiens la Cene de notre Seigneur (singulis ad minimum hebdomadibus)"—Opera, XVII. 46 (Inst. Chrest. p. IV.). There can be no doubt about his mind on this matter.

How came it then that monthly Communion, and not weekly, became the early Reformed practice? The answer is state interference, or rather, civil interference; and the answer takes us back to Strasburg.

The early practice in Strasburg in the German church was weekly. This we know definitely from the Liturgies extant, and also from a letter dated Dec. 1525, which says: "Dominico die, quem solum festum reliquerunt, adhuc autem ut liberum sit in ~~muner~~ eo operari...., celebrant coenam dominicam." (HERMINJARD: Correspondances, i. 409. Let. 168). And as late as 1539 that was still the



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| cōsider how Iesus Christ did ordayne<br>vnto vs his holy supper according as<br>S. Paule maketh rehearsall in the 11.<br>chap. of the first epistle to the Cor.<br>I haue (saith he) receyued of the lorde<br>that which I haue deliuered vnto you, to<br>witt, that the lorde Iesus the same<br>night he was betrayed toke breade, and<br>when he had geuen thanks, he brake it<br>sayinge. Take ye, eate ye, this is my<br>bodie, which is broken for you: doo<br>this in remēbrance of me. Likewise af-<br>ter supper, he toke the cuppe, sayīge.<br>This cuppe is the new testamēt or co-<br>uenāt in my bloude; doo ye this so ofte<br>as ye shall drinke therof, in remēbrance<br>of me. For so ofte as you shal eate<br>this bread, and drinke the cuppe, ye<br>shall declare the lordes deathe vntill<br>his cōminge. Therfore whosoener shall<br>eate this bread, and drinke the cuppe of<br>the lorde vnworthely, he shal be gilty<br>of the bodye and bloud of the lord. Then<br>see that euery mā proue ād trye hym<br>selfe, ād so let hym eate of this bread<br>ād drinke of this cuppe, for whosoener<br>eateth or drinketh vnworthelye, he ea-<br>teth and drinketh his owne damnation,<br>for not hauinge due regarde and consider-<br>ation of the lordes bodye. | fratres) accomodamus, audituri ex<br>Paulo cap. prioris ad Cor. 11. quibus<br>verbis ac ritibus Christus sacrā ipsius<br>Coenam peregerit. Sic enim ille,<br>Ego accepi à Dominē,<br>quod etiam tradiā vobis:<br>quod Dominus Iesus<br>nocte qua traditus est, accepit panem, &<br>gratiis actis fregit,<br>& dixit, Accipite, edite: hoc est<br>corpus meū, quod pro vobis frangitur:<br>hoc facite in mei memoriā. Similiter &<br>calicē, postquā coenauerunt, dicens,<br>Hic calix nouum Testamētum est, in<br>sanguine meo: hoc facite, quotiescunque<br>biberitis, in mei memoriam<br>Quotiescunque enim ederitis panem<br>hunc, & biberitis hunc calicē,<br>mortem Domini annunciabitis, donec<br>veniat. Itaque, qui<br>ederit panem hunc, & biberit calicem<br>Domini indignē, reus erit<br>corporis & sanguinis Domini.<br>Probet autē homo seipsum,<br>& sic de pane edat, & de calice<br>bibat. Qui enim<br>ederit aut biberit indignē,<br>iudicium sibi edit ac bibit,<br>non discernens corpus Domini. |
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(HUBERT: op. cit. p. 99)

Note continued from preceding page:

custom in the German church, as we see from the rubric in the Psalter &c  
which ordered weekly Communion in the Cathedral. After a short exhortation  
following the sermon, there comes this rubric: "Wo man aber das h. abtmal  
nicht haltet als nun in nebenpfarren sum monat einmal gehalten wurt, in  
Münster haltet mans alle sonnetag..." The main tradition is weekly, but in  
the smaller churches or chapels of ease monthly Communion is coming in. In  
the case of the French Church of refugees, however, ~~this was~~ it was different.  
There till Calvin's coming as Minister in 1538, they were allowed only to  
have prayers, singing, and preaching, but were not permitted to celebrate  
Communion. This little French Church was completely under the control of  
the Magistrates of the City; their Ministers were appointed and paid by them.  
When, therefore, they were permitted to have Communion once a month, it was  
counted a great privilege, and no one thought of petitioning for weekly communion  
when such great kindness had been shown them. (Cf. ERICHSON: Die Calvinische  
und die Altstrassburgische Gottesdienstordnung, p. 6.) Thus, monthly Communion,  
in the first instance not held more often because of civil interference, became  
a Calvinistic tradition; while the real desires of Calvin himself till the end  
of ~~his~~ his life for a weekly Communion have been ignored by his followers even  
to this day. When in Geneva the Congregation of English refugees, and in  
Frankfort, Pullain and his congregation, adopted monthly Communion, they were  
simply adopting what had been done by Calvin in Strasburg (Pullain was a successor  
of Calvin there) upon compulsion of the Magistrates, and which had now become  
the Calvinistic tradition. But infrequent Communion does not properly belong  
to that tradition; it was owing to the exigencies of the times that it was forced  
upon Calvin, who, had he been able to have his way, would have had Communion,  
"once a week at the very least," and so the primitive Catholic tradition would  
have been kept.

3. In the Mass the core of this excerpt from Corinthians ("the lord Jesus....  
drink therof in remembrance of me")



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This done, the minister pro-  
ceedith to the exhortation.

His recitatis pergit tum ille.

DEARELY beloued in the lorde, for-  
asmuch as we be nowe assembled, to  
celebrate the holy communion of the  
body and bloud of our sauour Christ,  
let vs consider these woordes of S.  
Paule, how he exhorteth all persons  
diligently to trye and examine the  
selues, before they presume to eate  
of that bread, and drinke of that  
cuppe.

For so the benefite ys great, if with  
a truly penitent hart, and liuely  
faith, we receyue that holy sacra-  
ment (for then we spiritually eate  
the fleshe of Christ, and drinke his  
bloude, the we dwell in Christ, and  
Christ in vs, we be one with Christ,  
and Christ with vs) so is the  
daunger great, if we receyue the  
same vnworthely,  
for then we be

giltie of the bodye, and bloud of Christ,  
our sauour, we eate and drinke our own  
damnation, not considering the lordes  
bodye: we kindle godes wrath against vs,  
and prouoke him to plague vs with diuer-  
se diseases and sundry kindes of death.  
Therefore if any of you be a blasphem-  
er of God,

ACCESSE ad sacram Coenae  
Dominicae synaxim,

enixe modisque omnibus id agamus (in Do-  
mino dilecti) iuxta Paulinum consiliū:  
ut in se quisque descendens, diligenti  
examine seipsum etiā atq; etiam excutiat,  
priusquā huic tam sacro & sublimi cō-  
uiuio se temere immisceat.

Nam ut fructus cōmodaq; hinc nō exigua  
accipiūtur, si qua dignū est poenitentia,  
ac fide religiosa accedam'

(percipim' enī spiritualiter corpus  
sanguinemq; Domini, nōsq; in Christo  
inhabituamus, atque in nobis ille,  
idemq; cū illo, atque in illo cor-  
pus efficimur) ita vicissim res nō  
paru periculosa est, si illotis manibus,  
secusq; par est, ad tam religiosa  
sacra non ingesserimus. Rei enim

corporis ac sanguinis Domini reddimur,  
propriamq; manducamus & bibimus damna-  
tionē, nō diiudicātes corp' Domini:  
ex quo graues sepe immittuntur calamita-  
tes, morbi, ac aerūnae, multēque exis-  
tūt causae, cur dormiunt multi.

Proinde, si quis sit in Deū blasphem',

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Note continued from preceding page:

soon came to be read separately

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Cap.  
Cap.

is contained in the prayer of Consecration, and is indeed the vital part of that prayer, being held to effect the miracle of transubstantiation. Luther retained this alone of the canon of the Mass in his *Deutsche Messe*, 1526, (*Werke*, Weimar edn., xix. p. 15.) At Strasburg, however, a consecration prayer was still used, but these verses ~~with more added as above were read~~ as a warrant, and the exhortation developed out of it as an explanation of all that was involved. CALVIN's (and the one here in the FP) exhortation was much longer than the very short one used in the German Church. The warrant may have had some significance in the consecration, possibly in the Augustinian sense of the Word being required to be joined to the symbol to make a valid sacrament; at any rate, after the eucharistic prayer and the reading of the warrant, we find this in the *West. Dir.*: "The Elements being now sanctified by the Word and Prayer..."—both the Word and Prayer seem to be held necessary to consecration. ~~But distinctly not in the Roman sense.~~ Cf. *Roll's 'Go the Reader' p. 170 of this Thesis.*  
The English here seems to be a direct translation from the Greek, and does not follow any known text of the English Bible (Cf. MACMILLAN: *Thesis*, p. 197); but there is a large measure of dependence upon HUYCKE at this point. It does not agree with Huycke word for word, but the similarity of phrase is very marked and the changes made in the FP are only minor smoothing of the wording. The Latin, of course, is simply a translation of the English, and bears no relation to the Vulgate.



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an hinderer or slaunderer of his worde, ac Verbi illius violator,  
 an adulterer, or be in malice or en- si quis adulter, aut maleficus, si qua  
 uie, or in any other greuous cryme, malitię, liuoris, aut noxae capitalis  
 be waylle your synnes, and come not cuiquā inhaerescat spurcitia, is suā de-  
 to this holy table: ploret foeditatem, nec se huic mēsaē ad-  
 lest after the takynge of this holy iūgat: ne  
 sacramēt, the diuell entre into you velut in Iudā, in illū inuolās satan,  
 as he entred into Iudas, and fill you omni repleat  
 full of all iniquities, and bring you, iniquitate,  
 to destruction, bothe of bodye and tū corporis, tū aīae periculo.  
 soule. Iudge therefore your selues Quocirca suā quisq; cōsciētiā iudicet  
 bretherne, that ye be not iudged ac exploret, ne à Domino iudicetur.  
 the lorde: repent you truly for your Offensas praeteritas praesenti poenitentia  
 synnes paste, and haue a lyuely and eluamus, ac fidē in Christo firmam stabi-  
 stedfast fayth, in Christ our sauour, <sup>1.</sup> lēnque retineamus,  
 sekinge onely your saluation in the nusquam salutis spem figentes, nisi in  
 merites of his death, and passion, illius duntaxat meritis ac morte vnica.  
 from hensforth refusinge, and forget- Simulque cum omni obliuione praeteri-  
 tinge all malice and debate, with full tarum iniuriarum, summam tueamur char-  
 purpose to liue in brotherly amytie, itatem erga proximos: vt iam defecatis-  
 and godlye conuersation, all the dais simis animis, simulque apud nos firmissimo  
 of your lyfe. <sup>2.</sup> concepto proposito vitae sanioris dignos

nos in hoc Symposio cōuiuas praebeamus.

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1. This far the exhortation is founded almost word for word on the RCP, 1552, which is as follows: "Derely beloued in the lorde: ye that minde to come to the holy Communion of the body and bloud of our sauoure Christ, must consider what S. Paul wryteth to the Corinthians, howe he exhorteth al persons diligently to trye & examine them selves, Before they presume to eate of that bread, & drinke of that cup: for as the benefite is great if with a truly penitent heart and liuely fayth, we receiue that holy Sacrament, (for thē we spirituallie eate the flesh of Christe, and drinke hys bloude, then we dwell in Chryste and Chryste in vs, we bee one with Chryste, and Chryste with us:) so is the daunger great, yf wee receiue the same unworthely. For then we be gilty of the body and bloud of Christe our sauour. We eate & drynke our owne damnacyon, not consydering the lordes body. We kindle goddes wrath against vs, we prouoke hym to plague vs wyth diuerse diseases, and sundry kyndes of death. Therefore, yf anye of you be a blasphemor of GOD, an hynderer or slaunderer of his worde, an adulterer, or be in malice or enuie, or in any other greuous cryme, bewayle youre synnes, and come not to thys holie Table, leste after the takynge of that holie Sacramente, the Deuyll entre into you, as he entered into Iudas, and fyll you full of all iniquities, and bringe you to destruction, both of bodye and soule. Iudge therefore youre selues (brethren) that ye be not iudged of the Lorde. Repent you truly for youre synnes past, haue a lyuely and stedfast fayth in Christ our Sauour." This was composed by Cramner for the RCP, 1549, and slightly altered as above in 1552. (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite. ii. 650-652, 677-679, 681-682)

In the RCP, 1552, after "sundrie kindes of death", HUYCKE's translation of Calvin was followed, beginning "And therefore, in the Name and authoritie of the eternall God...". I give it from the beginning as follows, so that the RCP and Calvin may be adequately compared: "We haue hearde (my brethren) in what sorte our Lorde dydde celebrate hys Supper amongeste hys Disciples: whereby we are also instructed, that straungers, that is to saye, such as be not of the faythful congregacion, ought not by any meanes to be admitted thereto. Wherefore folowynge y selfsame rule & ordre: In y vertue & autoritie of our Lord Iesu Christ: I excommunicate & barre out ((here the RCP, 1552 onwards follows Huycke)) al Idolaters, blasphemers, dispisers of God, heretiques, & al sortes of people y bring in sectes, y teache newe doctrine to breake y vnitie of Christes congregacion: al periured persōs, al such as be disobediente to theyr father & mother, & to other their superiors or maisters, all sedicious persons, privy workers of dissēcion, quarel pickers or fighters, skoulders, slaūderers, adulterers, whoremongers, theues, drūkardes, gluttons, & finally al suche as leadeth a dyssolute lyfe to the slaūder or euill example of other, signifying vnto them, that it is the parte of al such to absent themselves from thys Table, and to conceyue thys reuerent feare, not to pollute or defyle with theyr presence, those most holy and precious vitayles,..." Huycke is a literal translation of Calvin, as is Pullain, so it is unnecessary to quote them. CALVIN is the original source, following in a slight measure the German *Wittenberg* (1539) there.

2. Between 1 and 2 is ~~also drawn~~ also drawn from CALVIN through HUYCKE, omitting a short section. HUYCKE is as follows: "...seeking euerlastyng saluacion alonely in the merites and passiō of Iesu Christ, and whether hauyng refused and for-

(cf. next page)



THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

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| And albeit we fele in ourselues muche<br>frailtie and wretchednes, as that we<br>haue not our faith so perfite, and<br>constant, as we ought, being many tymes<br>readye to distruste Godes goodnes<br>through our corrupt nature, and also<br>that we are not so throughlye geuen to<br>serue God, neyther haue so feruent a<br>zeale to set forth his glory, as our<br>duetye requireth, felinge still such re-<br>bellion in our selues, that we haue<br>nede dayly to fight against the lustes<br>of our fleshe, yet neuertheles seinge<br>that our lorde hath dealed thus merci-<br>fully with vs, and hath printed his gos-<br>pell in our hartes, so that, we are pre-<br>serued from falling into desperatiō and<br>misbelief: and seing also that he hath<br>indued vs with a will, and desire to re-<br>nounce and withstand our own affections,<br>with a longing for his righteousnes and<br>the keeping of his commaundementes, we<br>may be now right well assured, that those<br>defautes and manifold imperfections in<br>vs, shalbe no hinderance at all against<br>vs, to cause him not to accept and impute<br>vs as worthie to come to his spirituall<br>table, <sup>1.</sup> | Porro quoniā in testacaeis vasculis<br>adhuc Thesaurum hunc portamus, necdum<br>fragilis naturae nostrae conditio<br>prorsus carnis sensum exuit: propterea,<br>si qua mentibus nostris forsan obstre-<br>pat infirmitas, puta vel fidei corruentis,<br>vel fractae fiduciae:<br>aut alioqui minus feruescat pectus<br>in gloriam Dei,<br>siue alia quacūque imperfectione<br>attentemur, (omnes enim imperfecti<br>in hac vita sumus)<br>memores tamen diuinae pietatis,<br><br>quae volūtatis saltem conatus ap-<br>probat, vbi facultas desideratur,<br>nequaquam ea nos res remorari<br>debet,<br><br>quin alacri fiducia huc confluamus,<br>nihil diffisi bonitati illius, quin<br>quantumlibet indignos: nos tamen<br>propter Filium dignos<br>spiritualis huius mensae communione<br>sit habiturus. |
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Note continued from preceding page:

gotten all malice and debate, he hath now a ful purpose and earnest desyre to  
lyue in brotherlye amitie and conoorde with hys neyghbours."

1. One sentenace from HUYCKE is omitted, and "and godlye conuersation, all the  
days of your lyfe" is substituted (cf. end of preceding page), then Huycke is  
taken up again and followed almost word for word. I quote Huycke below, corres-  
ponding to this page above.

"And albeit wee feele in oureselues muche frayltye, and wretchednes, as that  
we haue not oure fayth so perfect & constaunt as we ought, beyng many tymes  
ready to dystrust Gods goodnes through our corrupte nature: and also that we  
are not so throughly geuen to serue God, neither haue so feruent a zeale to  
set foorth hys glory as our duety requireth, feelinge styll such rebellion in  
our selues, y we haue needs dayly to fyght agaynst the lustes of our flesh: yet  
neuertheles seing that our Lorde hath dealed thus mercifully with vs, y he hath  
printed hys gospel in our hartes, so that we are preserued from fallieng into  
desperacion, and misbeliefe, and seeyng also he hath indued vs with a luste &  
desire to renounce & withstand our own affeccions, with a longing for his righ-  
teousnes and the keepyng of hys commaundemētes: we may be now right wel assured  
y those defaultes & manifold imperfeccions in vs, shal be no hynderance at all  
agaynst vs, to cause hym not to accepte vs, or accounte vs as woorthye to come  
to hys spirituall table."

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For the ende of our comming thyther, is not to make protestation, that we are vpright or iuste in our liues, but contrariwise, we come to seke our life and perfection, in Iesus Christ, acknowledging in the meane tyme, that we of our selues, be the children of wrath, and damnation.

Let vs consider then, that this sacrament is a singuler medicine for all poore sicke creatures, a comfortable helpe to weake soules,

and that our lord requireth no other worthines on our parte, but that we vnfaynedly acknowlege our noghtines, and imperfection. Then to the end that we may be worthy partakers of his merites, *ad* moste comfortable benefits (which ys the true eatinge of his fleshe, and drinkinge of his bloud) let vs not suffer our mindes to wander aboute the consideration of these earthlie, *ad* corruptible thynges (which we see present to our eies and fele with our hādes) to

seeke Christ bodely present in thē, as if he were inclosed in the breade or wyne, or as yf these elementes were tourned and chaunged into the substaunce, of his fleshe and blood.<sup>1.</sup>

Neque enim eo animo, aut fine huc accedimus <sup>d</sup>venitandi iusticiam nostram, aut fiducia aliqua quasi baculo nixi operū nostrorum: sed ea duntaxat iustificatione, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro. Haud aliter de nobis ipsis sentiētes, quā quod natura sumus filii irae & damnationis.

Huc igitur tanquam ad vnica medelam ac solatium adflictarum mentium aduolamus,

certissimē persuasi, nihil esse quod à nobis Dominus tam impensē exigat, quā vt nostram agnoscētes miseriā, ad illius misericordiam nos recipiamus. Postremò, quò aptiores simus perfruendis illius meritis ac beneficiis (qua in re verē sita est corporis illius ac sanguinis pastio)

hic admonendi sumus, ne tantoperè inifixi externis istis ac visibilibus rerum (quae sub sensus cadunt)

simulachris, Christum ipsum, velut in pane vinoque inclusum, quaeramus. Ne imaginemur facta <sup>naturarum</sup> ~~permutatione~~ permutatione, vinum panemque in Christi carnem

<sup>1.</sup> *мы не имеем надежды.*

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1. This whole page also is derived from HUYCKE, the corresponding portion of which is here quoted: "For the ende of our comming thyther is not to make protestacyon that we are vpright or iust in ourselues: but contrarywyse we come to seke our life and perfection in Iesu Christ: acknowledging in the meane tyme that we of our selues be most miserablye the priesoners of deathe: Lette vs consider than that thys sacramente is a synguler meadisine for all poore sycke creatures, a comfortable meane to weake soules, and that oure Lorde requireth no other woorthinesse on oure parte, but that we vnfaynedlye knoweledge oure naughtines and imperfection:..... And to y end we may do thus, let vs lift vp oure heartes and mindes into heauē where Christ abideth in y glory of his Father, and frō whēce (our sure hope is,) he will come to shewe himselfe oure redemer. And let vs not suffer our imaginacion of these earthly and corruptible thynges (which we see present to our eye, and feele with oure handes) to seeke Christ bodilye presente in them, as if he were inclosed in the breade or wine, or as if they were transmuted & chaunged into hys substance." Large tracts of Huycke's much longer exhortation are exeluded from the FP, but the exhortation in the FP is little more than a condensation of Huycke and Calvin.



\*Marg. note: "Transubstantiation, Transselementatio, Transmutatio and Transformation as the papistes vse them are the doctrine of diuells."

\*\*Marg. note: "The true eatyng of Christ in the sacrament."

## THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

For the onely way to dispose our  
soules to receiue nourishment,\* re-  
liefe, and quickening of his substance,  
is to lift vp our mindes by fayth  
aboue all thinges worldye and sen-  
sible, and therby to entre into  
heauen, that we may finde, and re-  
ceiue Christ,\*\* where he dwelleth vn-  
doubtedlye verie God, and verie man,  
in the incomprehensible glorie of  
his father, to whome be all praise,  
honor and glorye now and euer.

Altius atollendi sunt animi,  
siquidem Christi corpore ac san-  
guine nos pasci ac refici volumus,  
vsque in caelos ipsos fide syncera  
ac sublimi penetrandum est:

vbi Christus ipse verè agit,  
verus Deus & verus homo,  
in inaccessa ac incòspicua gloria  
sui Patris, <sup>cui</sup> gloria & honor in  
omne æuum, Amen.

The exhortation ended, the minister  
cometh downe from the pulpet, and  
sitteth at the Table, euery man and  
woman in likewise takinge their  
place as occasion best serueth,  
then he taketh bread and geueth  
thankes, either in these woordes  
followinge, or like in effect.

Habita hac paraenesi mox ad  
mensam reliquo populo pro-  
misuè constipante accumbit,  
ibique pane accepto, gratiarum  
actionem in hanc aut aliam  
consimilem formam pro Minis-  
tri ipsius arbitrato, anneo-  
tit.

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1. This page also follows HUYCKE literally. Huycke's corresponding portion continuing the part quoted on the previous page is as follows: "For the onely way to dyspose our soules to receyue nourishment, reliefe, and quickenyng of hys substaunce: is to lyfte vp our myndes by meanes of a ryght faythe, aboue all thynges worldly, and sensible, and thereby to enter into heauen, that we may fynd and receyue Christ where he dwelleth, vndoubtedlye very God and very manne, in the incomprehensible glory of hys Father..."

2. There is nothing in this rubric, or elsewhere in the FP, giving direction concerning the bringing in of the bread and wine to the Holy Table, but the practice may be deduced from Calvin's, Pullain's, and early Scottish custom. In his rubric of 1551, PULLAIN is most explicit. He says: "Quo die vero Coena celebratur, iam non pastor Symbolum recitat, sed finita oratione populus totum Symbolum decantat. Atque interea pastor ad mensam accedit, quae ita sita est in extremo templi, vt totam Ecclesiam & mensam ipsam possit habere ante conspectum suum: vbi ipse, vel Diaconus panem & vinum ad Coenam exponit & apparat. Finito Symbolo, cum tota Ecclesia summa veneratione se dat orationi, pastor ipse his verbis praeit." In CALVIN also, as we see by the rubric of 1545, during the Creed ( ) the Table is made ready: "Dependant le Ministre prepare le pain et le vin sur la table". In the FP, it is probable that this Calvinistic custom was continued, though not exactly as by Calvin and Pullain. It seems most likely that the usual closing Psalm would be sung after the Creed, and during it ~~the Minister~~ (in later Scottish practice, the Elders) would bring the elements to the Table, and make them ready. The Minister, still in the pulpit, would proceed to the Exhortation, then as directed above come to the Holy Table for the Consecratory Prayer. As early as 1530 in Scotland, there is evidence that deacons were appointed by name at Perth to carry the elements from the Vestry to the Communion Table (SCOT: Lives of the Reformers, 191.); and to this day in the Church of Scotland, the Table is furnished by the Elders during a Psalm or Paraphrase at this point.

The Puritan editions of the FP add to the above rubric the words, "and the Table being furnished"; but that seems to point back to its having been done before the Minister comes to the Table, and the only likely place would be before the Exhortation during the singing of the Psalm, as suggested above.

In the Westminster Directory, the furnishing took place after the Exhortation: "After this Exhortation, Warning, and Invitation, the Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, The Minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of Bread and Wine set before him (the Bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him, and giving it may be distributed amongst the Communicants: the Wine also in large Cups;) having first in a few words shewed, That those elements, otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctioned to this holy use, by the word of Institution and Prayer."

In the Savoy Liturgy, 1660, the Holy Table was directed to be furnished at the same point in the service.

"Diaconus" in Pullain refers, of course, to the Assistant Minister, not to the Diacon in the sense of the FP. In the FP and in Calvin's Church, the deacons carry the bread & wine who had the care of the sac. (v. Calv. 1551, p. 164, note 1, par. 3, where "diaconus" is synonymous with "minister"). In the FP and in Calvin's Church, the deacons carry the bread & wine who had the care of the sac. (v. Calv. 1551, p. 164, note 1, par. 3, where "diaconus" is synonymous with "minister").



THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

O FATHER of mercye and God of all consolation, seinge all creatures do knowlege and confesse thee, as gouerner, and lorde, it becommeth vs the workmanship of thyne own handes, at all tymes to reuerence and magnifie thy godli maiestie,

first that thou haste created vs to thyne own Image and similitude: but chieflie that thou haste deliuered vs, from that euerlasting death and damnation into the which Satã drewe mankinde by the meane of synne: from the bondage wherof ( neither man nor angell was able to make vs free) but thou (o lord) riche in mercie and infinite in goodnes, haste prouided our redemption to stande in thy onely and welbeloued sone: whom of verie loue thou didest giue to be made man, lyke vnto vs in all thynges, (synne except) that in his bodye he myght receiue the punishmentes of our transgression, by his death to make satisfaction to thy iustice, and by his resurrection to destroye hym that was auctor of death, and so to reduce and bring agayne life to the world, frome which the whole offspringe of Adame moste iustly was exiled.

O lord we acknowlege that no creature ys able to comprehend the length and breadthe, the depenes and height, of that thy most excellent loue which moued thee to shewe mercie, where none was deserued: to promise and giue life, where death had gotten victorie: but to receiue vs into thy grace, when we could do nothyng but rebell against thy iustice.

PATER misericordiarũ, ac omnis cõsolationis Deus, cuius omnipotens numen cũ per vniuersũ orbẽ quicquid vsquã est creaturarum & sensit, próque sua cuiusque natura bonitatẽ decantat, quanto magis nos quos ex nihilo in tantum honorem euexisti, perpetuis te laudib' ac gratiis attollere ac venerari conuenit?

Primũ quòd ad imaginem nos tuam condidisti,

tum verò maxime, quod ex horrendæ damnationis mortisque dira seruitute, in quam per peccatum satan authore, inducti simus, in ius ac libertatem vitæ reuocare dignatus sis. Quos quum nec Angelorum nec hominum quisquam iuuare poterat, tua tamen pietas, qua caetera opera tua omnia vincis, promptum inuenit rebus vndique conclamatis remedium, misso videlicet vnigenito Filio tuo,

qui nostra causa homo factus, nostrique per omnia (extra peccatum duntaxat) similis, recepta in se supplicia, flagitiis nostris commerita, adorãdo suo corpore dependi, morte sua iustitiae tuae dedit satis: p̃erque resurrectionem eum aboleuit, qui mortis author esset,

producta in lucẽ vita,

quã olim infeliciter vniuersa Adamicae propaginis posteritas perdideramus.

Quae tandem humanae mētis aut cuiusquã creaturae vis ac potestas tãta, nõ modò exprimere, sed & cogitando consequi poterit, immensam illam omnique dimensione superiorem philanthropiã, quæ te eò perpulit, vt nos adeò nihil meritos, imò pessima quaeque commeritos, tot promissis honorares, vita remunerares, quibus iustissimis nominibus debebatur mors: in felicitatẽ fauoris tui reduceres, qui nihil aliud quàm tuis imperatis rebellare poteramus?

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THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

O lord the blynde dulnes of our  
corrupt nature will not suffer vs  
sufficiently to waye these thy  
moste ample benefites:

yet neuertheles  
at the commaundement of Iesus  
Christ our lorde,  
we present ourselues to this  
his table (which he hath left to  
be vsed in remembrance of his  
death vntyll his coming  
agayne)  
to declare and witnes before the  
world, that by hym alone we haue re-  
ceued libertie, and life: that by him  
alone, thou doest acknowlege vs thy  
children and heires: that by hym  
alone, we haue entrance to the  
throne of thy grace: that by hym  
alone, we are possessed in our spi-  
rituall kingedome,  
to eate and drinke at his table:

with whome we haue our conuersation  
presently in heauen, and by whome,  
our bodies shalbe reysed vp agayne  
frome the dust, and shalbe placed  
with him in that endles ioye, which  
thow (o father of mercye) hast pre-  
pared for thyne elect, before the  
foundation of the worlde was layde.

And these moste inestimable benefites,  
we acknowlege and cōfesse to haue re-  
ceued of thy free mercie and  
grace, by thy onely beloued sonne Ie-  
sus Christ, for the which therefore  
we thy congregation moued by thy  
holy sprite render thee all thankes,  
prayse, and glorie

Non patitur, benigne Pater, naturae  
nostrae tanta crassities satis pro  
amplitudine rerum aestimare, quae  
quantaque munera effusissima largitas  
tua in nos accumulatur, tum alias tum in  
his potissimum mysteriis, à quibus in-  
firmitatis nostrae conscientia meritò  
nos deterrere poterat, attamen cum  
mandato Filii tui haec iubemur facere,  
crescit simul cum timore fiducia,  
quò alacrius ad Coenam hanc (quam pro  
testamentario monumento suae mortis  
nobis reliquit ac commendauit idem  
dilectus Filius tuus Iesus Dominus noster)  
nos conferimus,

hoc velut argumento publicè ac priuatim  
testantes, quòd per eum vnum omnes liber-  
tate ac vita donati sumus: quòd per eum  
vnum nos agnoscis  
filios tuos, quòd per eum  
solum ingressum habemus liberum  
ad gratiae tuae thronum, quòdque per eum  
vnicum in certissima spiritualis  
regni tui possessione inauguramur,  
aliquando in felicissima illa mensa  
immortalitatis tecum ac cum Filio  
vna accubaturi, quo tempore resuscitati  
redibimus in vitam,  
fruituri

cū illo aeterna felicitate, quā

electis tuis ab exordio mundi praepar-  
asti.

Haecque beneficia (summe Pater)  
quum agnoscimus, nō ex meritis nostris:  
sed ex gratuita tua misericordia,  
per Filium vnicè dilectum, in nos pro-  
fecta: meritò propterea, atque, vt paret,  
huius Ecclesiae vniuersus coetus, sem-  
piternas tibi gratias in hac mysteriorum  
perfunctione agimus, semperque acturi  
per Spiritum omnipotentem Filii tui  
Domini nostri, cui honos & maiestas

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## THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

for euer and euer.<sup>1.</sup>

in omnia saecula, Amen.

This done, the Minister brea-

ketis in hunc modum gratias, mi-

keth the breade<sup>2.</sup>

Minister panem acceptum frangit

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1. This prayer is not derived from any known source, and appears therefore to be wholly the work of the compilers themselves. It does not follow CALVIN who will be quoted below.

The form of this prayer is truly eucharistic, though it does not use any of the time-honoured words and phrases of the Western Liturgies; nevertheless, in scope and order it is as truly eucharistic as is the Prayer of Consecration in the Mass itself. It follows the order of the primitive liturgies: adoration and thanksgiving ("O Father of mercye, &c") for creation ("that thou hast created vs, &c") and redemption ("but chieflye that thou haste deliuered vs, &c"); commemoration of his incarnation ("whom of verie loue thou didest giue to be made man, &c"), death ("by his death, &c"), resurrection ("and by his resurrection, &c"), and the Last Supper ("we present ourselues to this his table which he hath left, &c"); concluding with an ascription of praise. While very simple, the prayer is indubitably eucharistic.

The recitation of the words of Institution are not contained in the prayer, but are used as a warrant, and likely also at the Fraction (cf. next note).

An Epiclesis is also lacking, but that is lacking from the Canon of the Mass and also from the Consecration in the RCP, 1552 onwards. This, however, was soon felt to a distinct lack by the Puritans in England, and by the Presbyterians in Scotland.

In Scotland, for example, we see a hint that the practice of using an Epiclesis is beginning from a remark of ROW, referring to a Communion Service in St. Gile's, Edin., in 1822. He says: "Mr. Patrick Galloway, having knelt and prayed (I would say, having read the prayer of Consecration, wherein there is not one word of 'Lord bless the elements or action'.)...." (*Historie*, p. 381.) CALDERWOOD describing a Scottish Communion Service, says in his *Alt. Danaco*, "Nam apud nos Minister finita concione recitat verba institutionis, habet exhortationem & admonitionem, deinde benedicit...." (p. 777); and this, says Calderwood, has been the form observed for 60 years (p. 778). He wrote about the year 1820. HENDERSON and GILLESPIE also bear witness to the same effect (SPROTT: RCP, pp. xxix-xl.). The Revision of 1629 suggested to the Assembly contains a very 'careful' Epiclesis: "Mercifull father wee beseech thee that wee receiuing these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy some our Saviour his holy institution, may be made partakers of his most blisshed body and blood. Send downe o Lord thy blissing upon this Sacrament that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitive instrument of the Lord Jesus." *Laud's Liturgy* contained the Epiclesis used in the RCP, 1549, and in the same place, just before the words of Institution.

Representing English Puritan use and desire, ~~the~~ as well as Scottish, is the *West. Dir.*, which expressly enjoins an Epiclesis, directing the Minister "Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, the God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in us, and to sanctifie these elements both of Bread and Wine, and to blesse his own Ordinance, that we may receive by Faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him..." And fifteen years later the *Savoy Liturgy* also contained an Epiclesis, as follows: "Sanctify these thy creatures of bread and wine, which according to thy institution and command, we set apart to this holy use, that they may be sacramentally the body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ." It is common practice among Presbyterians now to use an Epiclesis in the Prayer of Consecration. Cf. e.g. *Prayers for Divine Service* (Ch. of Scotd.), p. 69; *Dir. and Forms for Public Worship* (U.P. Ch. of Scotd.) p. 120; *Dir. for Pub. Wor.* (Pres. Ch. of Engd.) p. 45.; RCP (Pres. Ch. in Canada), p. 107 & 114; and in the United Church of Canada, *Year Book* 1928, p. 457., and in many other branches of Presbyterianism and those of the Calvinist tradition.

CALVIN himself, however, in his prayer hardly had what ~~might~~<sup>can</sup> be strictly termed an Epiclesis, but his prayer is very near it in one clause, as will be seen in the prayer quoted below. Calvin did not have a separate prayer of Consecration, but following the German practice at Strasburg, he merely added a paragraph to his Great Prayer when Communion was celebrated. This again is an important link with the German Liturgies, so below I quote both Calvin and the German from whence Calvin is derived. Pullain uses the same prayer, and a free translation slightly shortened was added to the RCP in Scotland, except the last two sentences; it is to be found in SPROTT's edition, pp. 108-109.

CALVIN is as follows: (After the Long Prayer, this is added:) "Et comme nostre Seigneur Iesus, non seulement t'a une fois offert en la croix son corps et son sang, pour la remission de nos pechez; mais aussi les nous veult communiquer, pour nourriture en vie eternelle: faiz nous ceste grace, que de vraye sincerite de coeur, et d'une zele ardent, nous receuons de luy un si grand benefice et don: c'est qu'en certaine Foy, nous receuons son corps et son sang: voire luy tout entierement: comme luy estant vray Dieu et vray homme est veritablement le saint pain Celeste, pour nous vivifier: afin que nous ne vivions plus en nous mesmes; et selon nostre nature, laquelle est toute corrompue et vitieuse: mais que luy vive en nous, pour nous conduire a la vie saine, bien-heureuse et sempiternelle: par ainsi que nous soyons faictz vrayement participans du nouveau et eternel Testament: assavoir l'alliance de grace: estans certains et asseurez, que ton bon plaisir est de nous estre eternellement Pere propice, ne nous imputant point nos fautes: et comme a tes enfans en heritiers bien aimez, de nous pourueoir de toutes choses necessaires, tant au corps comme a l'ame: afin que incessamment nous te rendions gloire et action de grace, et magnifions ton Nom, par oeuvres et par parolles. Donne nous doncques en ceste maniere, Pere celeste, de celebrer ~~et~~ auiourdhuy la memoire et reoordation bien-heureuse de ton cher Filz, nous exercer en icelle, et annoncer la benefice de sa morte: afin que recevant nouvel accroissement



## THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

Footnote continued from preceding page.

et fortification en Foy et en tout bien, de tant plus grande fiance nous te  
renommions nostre Pere, et nous glorifions en toy. Amen.

The German from the Psalter, u.s.w., 1539, from which it will be seen  
Calvin's prayer is directly derived, is as follows:

"vnd wie vns der selbig sein leib vnd blüt mit alleyn dir für vnseren sünd  
am creutz vffgeopfferet hat, sonder will dasselbig vns auch zur speisz vnd  
tracok geben ins ewig leben, das wir mit gantzen begyrden vnd aller andacht  
dise seine güte vnd geschenke vffnehmen vnd mit waren glauben ietzund emp-  
fahen vnd niessen seinen waren leib vnd wares blüt, ja in selb, vnserem hey-  
land, waren gott vnd menschen, das einig ware himmelbrot, vff das wir nit  
mehr vnser sundtlich vnd verderbttes leben, sonder er in vns vnd wir inn jm  
leben sein heyligs, seligs vnd ewiges leben, seien warlich theilhaft des waren  
vnd ewigen testaments, des bundts der genaden, sicher vnd gewisz, das du  
wilt ewiglich vnser genediger vatter sein, vns vnseren sünden nimmer mehr  
zurechnen, vnd vns inn allem an leib vnd seel versehen, wie deine liebe  
kinder vnd erben, das wir dir alle zeit lob vnd danck verjehen vnd deinen n.  
namen preysen mit allen vnseren Worten vnd wercken. Darnassen gib, him-  
lischer vatter, das wir heut die herrliche vnd selige gedechtnis deins  
lebens suns, vnseren herren, halten vnd begangen, verkünden seinen todt, das  
wir also an glauben zu dir vnd allem gutem jamer wachsen vnd gestercket  
werden vnd so vil getröstet janz jetsund vnd alwegen zu dir, vnserem gott  
vnd vatter, rüffen vnd betten, wie er, vnser herr, vnns betten geleret hat,  
vnd sprechen: Vnser vatter. u.s.w." (HUBERT: op. cit. pp. 107-108)

- cap 2. In this order, the fraction retains its primitive place as a separate act  
after the Prayer of Consecration, and is not imbedded in the Prayer itself  
as in the Anglican rite.

This was derived from Holy Scripture, but it was also the practice throughout  
the Reformed Church of the day.

- cap. None of CALVIN's rubrics mention definitely a fraction, but HUYCKE's translation  
does so ("Thys done and the people being aduertysed to come peaceably in ordre  
with al reuerence, the ministers breake the bread.."), as also does PULLAIN  
("Hic pastor primum defrangit.. bucella panis"—1551; "Hic Minister primum de-  
frangit...panem"—1554), so there can be little doubt that such was Calvin's  
practice also. It was so rooted in custom, that in many of the rubrics it  
was not thought necessary to mention it, but there can be little doubt that  
it was universally practised at this point.

- cap. The rubrics of the later editions ("This done, the Minister...breaketh the  
bread") of the FP bear witness to the English Puritan practice, and a similar  
one in the RCO to Scottish practice, which has continued so far in all branches  
of Presbyterianism—save when irresponsible Ministers take unwarrantable  
privileges—to this day. The fraction standing by itself was prescribed by  
the West. Dir., and also by the Savoy Liturgy, 1660. There can be no question  
of the universality of the custom. cap.

- cap. In the West. Dir., the Words of Institution were again recited as the fraction  
took place, and that is the common practice in Presbyterianism today. Whether  
that was so in 1556 cannot be determined. It does not appear to have been in  
practice in either the French or German Church at Strasburg, nor Calvin's ~~xxx~~  
at Geneva, nor Pullain's in London or Frankfort.

How soon it began in Scotland cannot be discovered, but if CALDERWOOD's  
description is rooted in such universal custom as he claims ("Hac forma  
celebrant nostri sacram oenam jam annos sexaginta"), it was the custom  
there since the Reformation in 1560 (Calderwood writes o. 1623). He says:  
"...Minister... finita benedictione ceu gratiarum actione, ait, Dominus  
noster ea nocte qua proditus est accepit panem & gratias egit, sicut nos  
jam egimus & fregit, sicut & ego jam frango, & dedit discipulis.." (Alt.  
Denase., p. 777, translated in SPROTT: RCO, p. xxxviii.) GILLESPIE des-  
cribes a similar practice (SPROTT, ibid.).



# THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

and deliyuereth it to the  
1.  
people,

ac distribuit.

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1. What was the order of Communication? The rubric gives us no guidance, but contemporary and ancient practice is well defined in other places.

In the primitive Church, as all the early liturgies testify (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Liturgies Eastern & Western, vol. 1.; DUCHESNE: Christian Worship, pp. 186, 224; &c), the order was, first the celebrant, the other clergy in order of their rank, the highest first, then the religious, followed by the men, and finally the women. This practice obtained in the Roman Church till the Reformation, and continues today. With LUTHER, in his Formula missae, 1523 the order is first the celebrant, then the people: "Deinde communicet tum sese, tum populum." (SEHLING: Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen, i., p. 6, col. 2.). In his Deutsche messe, 1526, the practice is more carefully defined: First, the Minister, then the people, "nicht man und weib, sondern die weiber nach den ~~und~~ mennern" (LUTHER: Werke, xix., pp. 15-16, Weimar edn.).

The early Strasburg practice is not defined in the rubrics, but is described in a letter of G. ROUSSEL, written in 1525 to the Bishop of Meaux. It is in part as follows: "Dum fit communico et suam quisque oenae portionem accipit... Sic tamen communico fit, vt postremus sumat Minister, adeoque quod superfuerit." (HERMINJARD: Correspondances, i. 413, lettre 168).

From this letter it appears that here we have an exception to the general and catholic rule, but the reason for this deviation is in order that the Minister may consume the elements which remain. Apparently, rather than have what appeared to be two communications on the part of the celebrant (before and after the people, as in the Mass and RCP), a choice was made between the two, and the last was preferred for the specific reason mentioned. This is still the order in the ~~Reformed~~ Church of Sweden. *Handwritten note: "The speaking may have failed to record the first communion."*

The later practice in the German Church at Strasburg is also undefined, the rubric throwing no light upon it, but CALVIN's practice in the French Church is left in no manner of doubt, for his rubric of 1545 is quite explicit. In it the Catholic practice is retained: "Ce faict, le Ministre ayant aduerty le peuple qu'on vienne a la sainte Table avec reverence par bon ordre et modestie Chrestienne, il recoit le premier le pain et le vin, puis le donne au Diacon et consequemment a toute L'Eglise." The Genevan rubrics are silent as to order of communication, but had the usual practice been departed from, it would have been specifically mentioned without doubt. PULLAIN in 1551 follows a similar order: "Hic pastor primum defrangit sibi bucella panis, & calice sumit, diaconoq; postea ministrat similiter. Deinde populus ordine ad mensam magna cum reuerentia accedit, viri primum, deinde mulieres." But in 1554 he makes a curious change, though still retains the order of Ministers before people: "Hic Minister primum defrangit administro suo panem, et calicem perigit, atque ab eo vicissim accipit. Deinde populus ordine &c."

What English Puritan practice in the early period was cannot be determined, but the Westminster Directory in 1644, directed after the fraction that "The Minister, who is also himselfe to communicate, is to break the Bread and give it to the communicants". The natural meaning from that rubric is that the Minister first communicated himself. While in the Savoy Liturgy, 1680, the same is directed without any ambiguity: "Then let the Minister deliver the Bread, thus consecrated and broken, to the Communicants, first taking and eating it himself as one of them..." (HALL: Rel. Lit. i. v. 72). There is every reason to believe that this represents the English Puritan practice from the beginning.

The early practice in Scotland is also undefined by the rubric, which in the RCO remained the same as in the FP, and there is apparently no contemporary witness as to the early Reformation practice. But the later practice at the beginning of the 17th century is all at one, and it likely also represents what had been customary there from the beginning. The Draft for suggested revision of the RCO in 1629 has the following rubric: "Then shall the Minister first receive the communion in both kyndes himself, and next deliver it unto other Ministers (if anie be there present) that they may help the chief minister, and after ~~that~~ to the people." The RCP for Scotd., 1637 (Laud's Liturgy) directs as follows: "Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kindes himself, and next deliver it to the other Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons (if they be there present) that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people in due order." It is noteworthy, that while the Covenanters took exception to much that was in Laud's Book, there is no record of any exception having been taken to this. They would not have remained silent, if this had been contrary to their own practice and doctrine. But it was not contrary to it; their own custom was similar. HENDERSON bears testimony to that in his description (c. 1640) of Scottish practice at the Lord's Supper, when he says: "The elements thus being sanctified by the Word and prayer, the Minister sacramentally breaketh the bread, taketh and eateth himself, and delivereth to the people" (Cf. SPROTT: RCO, p. xl.). Practice in Scotland seems to have been consistently Catholic in this respect. Sometimes, when the elements were delivered separately, with separate prayers for each element, the Minister did not partake in both kinds before giving to the people, but first of each species as they were delivered in turn; but apparently always he partook first, and never last. *Handwritten note: "SPROTT: Scot. L.H. p. 95"*

In view, then, of the consistent practice before and after 1556, among Calvinists, Lutherans, Anglicans, English Puritans, and Presbyterians, it is extremely unlikely that any other than the Catholic order was followed by the English Congregation at Geneva. And it is still the prescribed order in the Church of Scotland (Prayers for Divine Service, p. 71), and in many of the daughter churches, unless early principles have become blurred by a mistaken desire for politeness. The principle involved is that the Minister is expected at this time, as at others, humbly to set the example to Christ's flock of faithful people, first partaking of the sacred elements himself, then giving of them to the people.



# THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

who distribute and deuide the  
 same amongst theim selues, ac-  
 cordinge to our sauicour Christes  
 comandement, and in likewise  
 geueth the cuppe. Duringe the  
 which tyme, some place of the  
 scriptures is read, which doth  
 lyuely set forth the death of  
 Christ, to theintene that our  
 eyes and senses may not onely  
 be occupiede in these outwarde  
 signes of bread and wyne, which  
 are called the visible woordes:  
 but that our hartes and myndes  
 also may be fully fixed in the  
 contemplation of the lordes

Consimiliter & calicem. Interea dum haec aguntur,  
 recitatur per lectorem i-  
 doneum Scripturae portio  
 aliqua, ad institutum prae-  
 sens maxime accommodata, ut  
 non solum oculorum & aurium  
 sensu in his signis defixum  
 teneamus, quae nonnullis  
 verba, visibilia dicuntur:  
 sed animo multo magis ac  
 mente intueamur in mortem  
 Domini.

In vicissim inter se  
 ubi acceperunt,  
 diuidunt.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. It would appear that in the practice of this English Congregation at Geneva sitting at the Communion Table (or Tables), ~~that~~ we have the beginning of what was for long the custom in Scotland, and still is symbolically.

With CALVIN Communion was not dispensed in this fashion, but as the rubrics before-quoted have shown, the people approached to the Table to receive their Communion, then returned much as in an Anglican Church today or as was customary in the Roman Church. The following is his 1545 rubric which is the most explicit of all the editions in this respect: "Ce faict, le Ministre ayant aduertie le peuple qu'on vienne à la sainte Table avec reverence par bon ordre et modestie Chrestienne, il recoit le premier le pain et le vin, puis le donne au Diaire et consequemment a toute L'eglise, disant: PRENEZ, mangez, le corps de Iesus, qui a esté livré à la mort pour vous. Et le Diaire presente le Calice en disant: C'est le Calice du nouveau Testament au sang de Iesus, qui a esté repandu pour vous. Cependant L'eglise chante le Psaume: Louanger et grace ie te, etc." The same order was observed in the 1542 edn.

PULLAIN followed Calvin's practice, for in both his editions of the Lit. sac. we read: "Deinde (after the Ministers' communion) populus ordine ad mensam magna cum reuerentia accedit, viri primum, deinde mulieres..."

The later editions of the FP for Puritan use retain the same words as are in the rubric above: "who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves". It would therefore seem likely that they also sat at the Table, as in Scotland. The practice likely had its origin in Knox's practice; he had been from the beginning opposed to kneeling at reception, lest that attitude of worship be mistaken as adoration of the consecrated bread and Wine. (Cf. e.g., LORIMER: Knox and the Ch. of Eng., pp. 132-138. + SPROTT: Knox, pp. 130-131)

The West. Dir., 1644, is silent with regard to the method of communication, but the Savoy Liturgy has this interesting rubric: "Let it be left to the Minister's discretion, whether to deliver the bread and wine to the people, at the table, only in general, each one taking it and applying it to themselves; or to deliver it in general to so many as are in each particular form; or to put it into every person's hand:... And let none of the people be forced to sit, stand, or kneel in the act of receiving, whose judgement is against it." (HALL: Rel. Lit. ii. p. 74.)

for contemporary practice is all at once.

2. It is to be observed that no words of delivery are included in this rubric, (though in all probability they were used), ~~but~~ in the later editions (1586, 1587, 1602, &c.) for Puritan use (not the RCO in Scotland) words were supplied as follows: "Take and eat; this bread is the body of Christ that was broken for us... Drink ye all of this; this Cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which was shed for the sins of many: do this in remembrance of me." (HALL: Rel. Lit. i. 60; Frag. Lit. i. 65).

The West. Dir. uses the Scriptural words also: "Take yee, eat yee; This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you, Do this in remembrance of him... This Cup is the New Testament in the Blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; Drink ye all of it." The same words are used in the Savoy Liturgy later. (HALL: Rel. Lit. ii. 74.)

In Scottish custom, words seem always to have been used at the delivery, as we see from Calderwood's and Henderson's descriptions, and from the proposed revision of the RCP for Scottish use in 1686. CALDERWOOD writes as follows: "Dominus noster ea nocte qua proditus est accepit panem & gratias egit, sicut nos jam egimus & fregit, sicut & ego jam frango, & dedit discipulis suis dicens (tum tradit proximis a dextra & sinistra) hoc est corpus meum &c. nihil addit verbis Christi, nihil mutat, nihil diminuit... Similiter poculum tradit proximis minister prolati verbis Christi, nihil addendo, miscendo, mendo, minuendo." (Alt. Damasc. p. 777.) HENDERSON

19



hand of one of the priests the sacrament, (Coverdale's trace, 1550)

THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

death, which is by this holy  
Sacrament represented. And  
after the action is done, he  
saith thus: *geueth thanckes saying.*

quam hoc Sacramentum nobis  
graphice delineat.  
Finita deinde Coena, rur-  
sus in haec verba gratias agit,  
\*\*\*\*\*

Note continued from preceding page:

bears this further witness: "The Minister... delivereth to the people.. saying, Take ye, eat ye; this is the Body of Christ, which is broken for you: Do it in remembrance of Him.. The Minister taketh the cup, and.... giveth it to the nearest, saying, This cup &c." (quoted by SPROTT: RCO, p. xl.) These words of delivery approximating as closely as possible to Scripture must have been the familiar use in Scotland, and among the Puritans, and were undoubtedly derived from Geneva in the English Congregation, though not specifically mentioned in the rubric. It is interesting to note that in the proposed revision of the RCP in 1619 for use in Scotland, the Elizabethan compromise is favoured for the words of delivery (i.e. the words of 1552 subjoined to the words of 1549, as at present used in the RCP), while Laud's Liturgy used only the words of 1549. The Scottish words used in common practice, however, permitted as 'high' a view of the Sacrament as the words of 1549, and a higher view than those of the Elizabethan compromise. Cf. SPROTT: Scot. Lits. of Jas VI, edn. 1901, p. 94.)

In practice contemporary to the EP, we find words of delivery used by PULLAIN: from 1 Cor. 10: "Panis quem frangimus, Communicatio est corporis Christi: accipe, manduca, memor Christi corpus pro te fractum in remissionem peccatorum tuorum... Calix cui benedicamus, Communicatio est sanguinis Christi: accipe, bibe, memor Christum sanguinem suum pro te profudisse in remissionem peccatorum tuorum." (Lit. sac. 1554). It is unthinkable that similar words were not used by the English.

In his edn of La Forme in 1545, CALVIN also includes the words of delivery which were used by him: "Prenez, mangez, le corps de Iesus, qui a esté livré à la mort pour vous... C'est le Calice du nouveau Testament au sang de Iesus, qui a esté respandu pour vous." While the German Psalter &c, 1539, used at Strasburg, had these words: "Gedencken, glauben vnd verkünden, das Christus, der herr, für euch gestorben ist."

1. To have silence during the act of communication is a custom unknown to the old Catholic and Reformed rites; silence at this point is entirely a modern innovation, and as a rule a most unhelpful one.

By reading the Scriptures during the communion, the EP was following Calvin's practice at Geneva and Pullain's at Frankfort. In CALVIN's edn. of 1542 (which represents his Genevan use), there is the following rubric: "Cependant on chante quelques Psaulmes ou on lit quelque chose de l'Escripture, convenable à ce qui est signifié par le Sacrament." While PULLAIN in his Frankfort edn. (1554) of the Lit. Sac. has a similar direction: "Interea temporis à tota Ecclesia Psalmus aliquis gratiarum actionis decantatur, dum peragitur, aut textus aliquis à scriptura recitatur." The same choice is given in the later suggested revision of the RCP (1619 - cf. SPROTT: RCO): "In the time of service whilst the people are communicating, let the Reader read distinctly the history of Christ's passion, Begynning at the 13 of Sanct Johne and so forward. And whilst they are giving place to others let a part of the 103 or 34 psalme be sung; So by this intercourse of reading and singing the people shalbe kept in a holy exercise till all have communicated." This practice of reading appears to have begun with Calvin at Geneva, and was thence taken by Knox into Scottish custom.

At Strasburg, singing was the custom. This is to be discovered in CALVIN's 1545 ed. (Stras.), and in PULLAIN's 1551 edn, and also in the Strasburg German orders. CALVIN's Strasburg La Forme has this rubric: "Cependant l'Eglise chante le Psaume: Louange et grace le te, etc. Ps. 138 de la premiere edition." Pullain also, fresh from Strasburg in 1551 directs simply that "Interea temporis à tota Ecclesia Psalmus aliquis gratiarum actionis decantatur dum communicatio peragitur." The German Psalter (1539) of Strasburg, which is Calvin's source, has this: "Auff das (i.e. during the Communion) singt die Kirche got sey gelobet &c. oder sunst ein psalmen, wie es sich zutregt." (HUB. p. 112)

The Strasburg custom was, of course, derived directly from Catholic practice. From earliest times a chant of some kind came at this point, at first being a psalm. In the Apostolic Constitutions VIII, xiii, 16 (BRIGHTMAN: Lits. E & W. p. 25) Psalm xxxiv (A.V.) is the one used, of which verse 9 is obviously appropriate - "O taste and see that the Lord is good." In present Roman practice, owing to the introduction of the 'Agnus dei' during the Fraction and the priest's Communion, and the decreased number of communicants, only the antiphon of the Psalm remains. (FORTESCUE: The Mass, pp. 385-388).

In LUTHER's Latin Mass, the 'Agnus dei' was sung during communication (SEHLING: Die evang. Kirchenord. i. p. 8 (Section 13)), and in his German Mass, during the distribution of the bread, and wine, the German 'Sanctus' was sung, or the 108rd psalm; or John Huss Hymn 'Jhesus Christus unser heiland.' (LUTHER's Werke [Weimar-edn.] xix., p. 15).

2. Nothing is said in this rubric concerning the position of the Holy Table.

In the early Reformed rite it was left where the altar stood, in most cases the altar itself being used, moved forward slightly so the Minister might stand behind it and face the people. Later, as with Calvin (and no doubt Knox) at Geneva, the Table was brought into the body of the church near the pulpit, so that all might see and hear readily. In Scotland sometimes more than one Table was used at Communion so that more could be accommodated. They were then placed in the body of the church, i.e. in the nave. There was no universal practice in the Reformed Church. Local conditions and views largely regulated (etc.)

(Calvin: Ordonnances Eccles. 1541: "Que les tables soient pres de la chaire, afin que le mystere se puyssie mieulx commodement exposer pres du peuple." (Opus x. i. 26).)

Similarly, the Calvinistic Church in Denmark, after the words of Delivery, "do sing a psalme." Two of the books given for this blessed Sacrament. And in the means season they that are appointed the k- cuppe with the Lords, come soberly and with great reverence one after another (the men first & then the women) to the table of the Lord: where they kneeling (one saying after another) Requiem at the

and also in the Danish Calvinist Church. (Coverdale's trace, 1550)

(also BRIGHTMAN: op. cit. pp. 102, 139, 185-6, 192, 240, 297-9, 341-2, 394-6, 453, etc.)



THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

MOSTE mercifull father, we render  
to the all prayse thankes and glorie,  
for that thou hast vouchsafed to  
graunt vnto vs miserable synners so  
excellent a gifte and threasor, as  
to reeseue vs into the felowship and  
company of thy deare sonne Iesus  
Christ our lorde, whome thou deli-  
ueredst to deathe for vs, and haste  
giue hym vnto vs, as a necessarie  
foode and norishment vnto euerlas-  
tyng life. And now we beseeche  
the also (o heauenly father) to  
graunt vs this request, that thou  
neuer suffer vs to become so vnkinde  
as to forget so worthy benefittes:  
but rather  
imprint and fasten them sure in our  
hartes, that  
we may growe and increase dayly more  
and more in true faithe, which con-  
tinually ys exersised in all maner  
of goode workes,<sup>1</sup> and so moche  
the rather o lord, cōfirme vs, in  
these perelous daies and rages of  
satan, that we may constanly\* stande  
and continewe in the confession of  
the same

to the aduancement of thy glorye,  
which arte God ouer all things bles-  
sed for euer. So be it.

OPTIMO iure (Pater optime) tibi  
amplissimas gratias perferimus:  
qui pro singulati indulgentia  
tua, quam impurissimi peccatores  
minimè promerebamur, ad  
charissimi Filii tui contubernium,  
nos inuitare ac admittere  
volueris, quem pro nobis confixum,  
totum hanc mundo,  
velut laetissimum quoddam epulum, re-  
focillandis ac nutriendis animis nostris  
praeuisti. His iam  
beneficiis hoc porro adice, benigne  
Pater, ne quando  
in eam prolabamur ingratitude, vt  
tantarum rerum obliti, vel officii nos-  
tri immemores reperiamur. Verum ea sic  
animis nostris infixae velis, quae dederis,  
vt perpetuò tuae beneficentiae memores,  
magis magisque indies adoleamus ad  
fidei grandiores neruos, quae in con-  
tinuis bonarum virtutum officiis opero-  
sa esse soleat, tum potissimum tempori-  
bus his afflictissimis aduersus satanae  
furias, brachii tui nos confirmet poten-  
tia, vt te adminiculante, fidei nostrae  
professionem integram in variis huius  
curriculi anfractibus constanter ad  
metà vsque tueamur: tum ad caeterorum  
exempla, tum ad gloriam tui nominis, qui  
solus in omnibus ac super omnia Deus  
et laudandus in secula. Amen.

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\*Misprint for "constantly"

Note continued from preceding page.

the local practice.

Strype in his various volumes gives evidence as to the diversity of prac-  
tice and view in England during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. In the  
year 1550, by "the month of November", we read that "Altars were generally  
everywhere taken away" and replaced by Tables. "But great contest there hap-  
pened hereupon, in what precise part of the Chancel the Table should be placed,  
and how it should stand, whether East or North." In which connection he re-  
cords Ridley's remark: "The Supper of the Lord was not at any time better min-  
istred, nor more duly received than in these latter Days, when all things are  
brought to the Rites and Usage of the Primitive Church." On the same page  
he observes that in the year 1549 George Constantine, Archdeacon of Camarthen,  
"pulled down the Altar there, and set up a Table in the middle of the Church."  
(STRYPE: Eccles. Memorials (edn. 1721) ii. p. 227.) The Bishop, however, com-  
manded that the Table be set up near where the Altar had stood. (op.cit. p. 228.)  
In the year 1584 at Canterbury we are told that "The Common Prayer daily through  
the Year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table, stan-  
ding North and South, where the High Altar did stand. The Minister...standing  
on the East side of the Table with his Face toward the People. The Holy Communion  
is ministred ordinarily the first Sunday of the month through the year."  
(STRYPE: Parker, p. 183 (Rk.ii. chapt. 26)).

1. The Latin of this prayer is a slight amplification of the English, which in  
its turn to this point is an amplification of Calvin and Pullain through Huycke.

(over)

The Original MS. in the British Museum  
says "Communion prayer"  
cf. Lat. Rites Lib. Rariorum p. 45.



# THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

Note from preceding page continued.

And Calvin's prayer is derived directly from the German. The following will show the connection.

The prayer in the FP above is closely related verbally to HUYCKE's translation of Calvin (1550), which is as follows:

"WE prayse the and thanke thee (oure moste mercyful Father) for that thou hast vouchesaied to graunte vnto vs miserable synners so excellent a benefyte, as to receyue vs into the feloweshyp and compaigne of thy deare sonne Iesus Christe our Lord: fyrste delyuerynge hym to a moste cruell deathe for our sakes. Secondarilye, geuyng hym vnto vs as a necessarye feede and nouryshmente vnto ouerlastyng life. Graunt to vs (wee beseeche thee) yet moreover, thys one requeste, that thou dooe neuer suffer vs to become so vnkynde, as to forgette so weerthy benefytes, but rather so imprinte them and fasten them in our heartes, that we maye grow and increase daylye more and more in suche a ryghte faythe as doothe carefullye trauayle, and is continuallye occupied in all manner of good woorkes, and that in so doyng, wee maye leade forth and dyrecte our whole lyfe to the aduancemente of thy glory, and edifying of our neybeures, thorough the merite of Iesu Christ thy sonne, who in the vnitie of the hollye spirite lyueth one God with thee euermore. So be it."

PULLAIN's version of Calvin was also undoubtedly before the compilers of the FP: it is as follows.

"Pater ocellentis, gratias immortales agimus tibi, laudantes istam tuam erga nos benignitatem, quae tante beneficio dignatus es, quamuis peccatores, vt in partem Christi filii tui vocares ac pertraheres, quem pro nobis in mortem semel quidem dedisti, iam verò subinde etiam das in alimoniam vitae aeternae. Largire nunc nobis ne vnquam obliuisci possimus tantarum rerum, sed in eo eas sic inseras cordibus nostris, vt indies adolescamus magis, augeaturque in nobis robur fidei, quae efficax sit ad omne opus bonum, quo vitam nostram totam instituamus ad gloriam nominis tui, et aedificationem proximorum. Per eundem Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui in vnitate sancti spiritus, tecum vivit et regnat in aeternum, Amen." (From 1550 edn.)

CALVIN's version (from which the above of Huycke and Pullain are derived) is as follows:

"Pere celeste, nous te rendons louenges et graces eternelles, que tu nous as esclargy en tel bien, à nous peccateurs, de nous auoir attiré en la communion de ton Fils Iesus Christ, nostre Seigneur, l'ayant livré pour nous à la mort, et le nous donnant en viande et nourriture de vie eternelle. Maintenant aussi octroye nous ce bien, de ne permettre que jamais nous ne mettions en subly ces choses: mais plustot les ayant imprimées en nos cœurs, nous croissions et augmentions assiduelement en la Foy, laquelle besongne en toutes bonnes oeuvres: et en ce faisant, ordonnions et poursuivions toute nostre vie à l'exaltation de ta gloire, et edification de nostre prochain, par iceluy Iesus Christ ton Fils, qui en l'unité du saint Esprit, vit et regne, avec toy Dieu eternellement. Amen." (All editions)

The German of the Strasburg Psalter, from which unquestionably Calvin's prayer is derived is as follows:

"Almechtiger gott, himmlischer vatter, wir sagen dir ewigs lob und danck, das du uns arme sündler also begnadet und zu deinem sun, vnserem herren Iesu Christo gezogen hast, in für uns inn todt und ~~erlöset~~ uns den auch sur speys und vffenthalt ins ewig leben geben hast, verleihe uns, das wir solchs nimmer von hertzen lassen und daher an glauben an dich, der durch die liebe zu allen gütten wercken thätig seie, jener wachsen und zunehmen und also vnser gantzes leben zu deinem preisz und besserung vnserer nechsten diene durch denselbigen deinen sun, vnsern herren Iesum Christum, amen." (Psalter No., 1539, reprinted in HUBERT). Calvin's prayer, though not a slavish translation of this, is undoubtedly derived from it. This prayer is one of three alternative post-communion thanksgivings given in the Psalter. (HUBERT: op. cit. p. 112.)



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The action thus ended, the  
people singe the 103 psal.  
My soule giue laud &c. or  
some other of thancks giue-  
1.  
ynge, which ended, one of  
the blessings before men-  
2.  
cionede is recitede, and  
3.  
so they ryse from the  
4.  
table and departe.

His ad finem perductis,  
accinctur ab vniuerso coetu,  
modestissimo concentu, Psal. 103.  
Benedic, &c. aut alius aliquis  
eiusdem momenti. Quod vbi factum,  
eadem qua supra precatiuncula,  
concionem dimittit Minister.

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cap 1. In CALVIN's Genevan editions (early) there is no mention of a post-communion psalm, nor is there in HUYCKE's translation nor in PULLAIN. The 103rd Psalm (Gott'sy gildet) was used during Communion by LUTHER in his German Mass, and it is likely that on occasion it was also used by PULLAIN during Communion, for his rubric leaves the choice of psalms open. In CALVIN's Strasburg edn of La Forme, 1545, the 'Nunc dimittis' is sung in metre (Le cantique de Symeon) Maintenant Seigneur Dieu &c.) after the post-communion thanksgiving and ~~before~~ the benediction, not before the benediction as above.

cap. In later Puritan practice as is seen in the editions of the FP before mentioned, the rubric and custom is the same as the above. ~~the same as the above~~ <sup>the same as the above</sup>

cap. In Scotland the 103rd Psalm has been almost universally used here till this day, and has gained a place of great affection in the hearts of the Scottish people. If there are two "tables", it is usual to sing the 103rd Psalm at the end of the morning "table", and the 'Nunc dimittis' (prope, version) at the end of the afternoon "table". <sup>metrical</sup>

cap. In the Savoy Liturgy, the rubric has been influenced by the FP: "Next [after the post-communion] sing part of the Hymn in metre, or some other fit psalm of praise, (as the 23rd, 116th, 103rd, or 100th, &c.) and conclude with this, or the like, blessing: "Now the God of peace &c." (HALL: Rel. Lit. iii. 78-79)

2. Cf. note 1, p. 134 ~~supra~~ <sup>supra</sup>. Curiously enough (though perhaps because the book was used largely by Readers in the early days of the Reformed Church) the RCO has changed the "you" to "us"; perhaps a hint of that attitude is found in the use of the word "precatiuncula" in the Latin above. The Latin rubric suggests also that a word of dismissal may have been added, as in the German and frequently in other early Reformed Liturgies, and in keeping with the old Church custom.

3. It would seem from this that the posture during singing was sitting, and Livingstone (Scottish Psalter, p. 58) thinks that it "must have been the only posture at praise". McMillan (Thesis, p. 188-189), on the other hand, adduces evidence which seems to make it certain that in Scotland the practice was various, either standing or sitting. But it seems certain from this rubric that in the English Church at Geneva the posture was sitting.

cap. 4. PULLAIN in his 1551 edn. of the Lit. sac. has an interesting note regarding the length of the service, which in all probability took the same length of time as the English service. He says: "Tota haec Liturgia sesquihora absoluitur, aut summum duabus horis, tametsi interdū centum vidissēs communicantes." Perhaps the English service was nearer the two hours than the hour and a half, although in it the Communion exhortation is considerably shorter than Pullain's.

THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

TO THE READER.

LECTOR CANDIDO.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| IF PARHAVNCE any wolde maruell         | SI quis in Eucharistica adminis-             |
| why we followe rather this order,      | tratione secum forsan miretur, cur           |
| then any other in the administra-      | hunc potius ordinem sequi maluimus,          |
| tion of this sacrament, let him di-    | paucis consilii nostri rationem ac-          |
| ligently consider, that first of all   | cipiat. Principiò                            |
| we vtterly renounce the error of the   | Papistarum errorem explodimus.               |
| papistes: secondly we restore vnto     | Sacramentis substantiã                       |
| the sacramentes theyr owne substaunce; | suam ac Christo itẽ suũ locũ permitim'.      |
| and to Christe his proper place. And   |  |
| as for the wordes of the lordes sup-   | Verba quidẽ institutionis                    |
| per we rehearse theym not becawse      | adducimus, non quòd ipsa panis               |
| they shuld chaunge the substaunce of   | immutent substantiam,                        |
| the bread or wyne, or that the pe-     | aut ex eorum repetitiene,                    |
| petition therof with the intent of     | cum intentione sacrifici, sac-               |
| the sacrificer should make the sac-    | sacramentum                                  |
| rament as the papistes falselie be-    | per se constituentur, vt falsò somniant      |
| leue: but they are read and pro-       | illi: sed eò à nobis                         |
| nounced to teache vs how to behaue     | adducuntur, vt ex his certissimam            |
| our selues in this actiõ ãd that       | nobis gerendae rei regulã petamus:           |
| Christe might witnes vnto ovr faithe   | atque vt fidei nostrae ore suo teste-        |
| as it were with his owne mowthe, that  | tur Christus ipse,                           |
| he hath ordayned these signes for our  | se haec symbola dedicare                     |
| spirituall vse and comforte. Wee do    | in spirituale vsũ nostrũ.                    |
| firste therefore examyne ovr selues,   | Primũ igitur à probatione auspiciati,        |
| according to saint Pauls rule, and     | suae cuiusque cõscientiae, iuxta Pauli       |
| prepare our myndes that we may be      | decretũ, nosmet veluti praeparamus           |
| worthie partakers of so high myster-   | ad tantae rei dignitatem. Deinde post        |
| ies. Then takyng bread, wee geue       | acceptũ panẽ sequuntur gratiae.              |
| thankes, breake, and distribute it,    | Inde mox                                     |
| as Christe our sauior hath taught      | fractio ac distributio,                      |
| vs. Finally the ministration en-       | eodem ordine quo praecessit Christus.        |
| ded, we gyue thankes agayne accor-     | Absoluta demum Coena,                        |
| dyng to his example. So that with-     | iterum reditur ad gratias,                   |
| out his woorde, and warrante, there    | exemplo Domini, vt                           |
| is nothyng in this holy action at-     | nihil citra certum verbi ipsius              |
| tempted.                               | ductum, nobis hĩc attentatum esse            |
|  | videas.                                      |
|  | ¶The end of the order for the Lord's Supper¶ |

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1. This short explanation is no doubt inspired by CALVIN's note at the end of his Communion Office, though it is in no way verbally dependent upon it. It is a simple statement that the object of all that has been done has been to return to the primitive Office, shearing away the superstitious ceremonial of the mediaeval Church, and returning also to primitive doctrines. Emphasis is laid upon the change in the method of consecration, and the repudiation of the popular Roman doctrine ~~of transubstantiation~~ of transubstantiation, with the declaration that consecration does not depend upon a set formula. Gillespie writing later in Scotland re-stated this position, and showed also that it was true to the position of great scholars in the old Church. "It is sounder divinity to say", he wrote, "that the consecration of a sacrament doth not depend 'ex certe aliqua formula verborum'.... Aquinas likewise holdeth that the consecration of a sacrament is not absolutely tied to a certain form of words." (GILLESPIE: English Popish Ceremonies, p. 20)-~~of 1744~~-~~1744~~. Emphasis is also laid upon the fact that instruction must accompany the sacrament. This is plainly stated in the First Book of Discipline later. The sacraments, it says, are only "rychtlie ministred, quhen by a lauchfull Minister the pepill, befoir the administratioun of the same, ar plainlie



171.

# THE ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

Note continued from preceding page:

instructed..” (LAING: KW, ii. 186.) Macmillan (Thesis, p. 205) gives examples of how this principle was carried out in fact later in Scotland. In many (probably all) churches it was made compulsory for the people to attend the preaching if they wished to come to the sacrament. The mediaeval abuse of coming in only to witness the Elevation or for communion was forthwith abolished in the Reformed Church. In 1598, for example, the Session of St. Andrews ordered the doors to be locked at “the end of the Psalm” (i.e., here the opening Psalm), so that only those who “heard the preaching should communicate” (St. Andrews Register, 882). And a year earlier the Session of Elgin had passed a similar resolution, adding also the converse of the principle, that none were to come to the preaching unless they intended to go to the Lord's Table on Communion Sundays (Elgin Records, ii. 49).

THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

THE FORME OF MARIAGE.

RATIO INSTITVENDI MATRIMONII.



INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

The Marriage Service in the FP, 1556, is derived directly from HUYCKE's translation of CALVIN's La Ferme, 1550, with certain portions included from the BCP, 1552. ~~All this the footnotes will clearly show.~~ <sup>to the text</sup>

Letting X designating citation

Calvin's Service is taken bodily, with only a few minor verbal changes, from Farel's La maniere et fasson <sup>(X)</sup> the Neuchatel edition of 1533. The full parallels are given in the ~~footnotes~~ <sup>to the text</sup>.

The origin of Farel's service lies among the German Reformed Orders of Strasburg from 1526-1533, which are printed by Hubert. Much of it appears to be Farel's own language and arrangement, but undoubtedly the German Orders were his main source. These too are given in the ~~footnotes~~ <sup>to the text</sup>, ~~in the pages following.~~

The Service here is the simplest possible, and from it all the Mediaeval ceremonies have been completely shorn away. Nothing could be balder than the order of 1556. But because it was always embodied in the ordinary Sunday Morning Service (except possibly, following Calvin's example, on Communion Sundays <sup>2.</sup>), it was necessary that it be short; and because of the views and tastes of the compilers, it was equally necessary that it be bald and simple.

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omit.

1. RAUM has reprinted this (of Bibliog.), and while there is no author's name given in the original edition, Raum in his critical introduction gives it as his opinion that it is a production of William Farel's, (Cf. p. xiii.), and in this he is followed by DOUMERGUE (Calvin, ii. 496-497) and ERICHSON (Zur Geschichte der alstrasz. evang. Trauordnung). While Farel did not understand German any more than did Calvin, it was undoubtedly produced under his direction, the actual translation being perhaps done by Zerkinden.

2. Projet d'ordonn. eccl. 1541: "Il sera bon que le jour qu'on celebre la cene on sen abstienne pour l'honneur du sacrement." (Opera, X., i., p. 28)

INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

The following parallels of the FP, Huycke, Calvin, Farel, and the German <sup>Psalmen gäbster (F)</sup> ~~Psalmen~~ of Strasburg, 1526, will aid in showing the similarity in general outline, while the <sup>to the text</sup> ~~Foot~~notes will show that similarity in detail.

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <sup>men. gäbster (F)</sup><br><u>Psalmen</u> , 1526                   | <u>Calvin, Huycke, Pullain, Farel,</u><br>Psalm 128 (Pullain only)<br>Ser.snt: "Notre aide soit &c" | <sup>Revised form, 1516</sup><br><u>FP</u> , 1556  |
|  | Exhortation   | Exhortation  |
| Retrothal vow  | Retrothal vow   |  |
| Challenge (general)  | Challenge (general)   | Challenge<br>1. (to couple)<br>2. (to all present) |
| Marriage vow   | Marriage vow  | Marriage vow                                       |
| Confirmation by Minister   | Confirmation by Minister  |  |
| Scripture:<br>Genesis ii.18-24.<br>St.Matt.xix.3-9.<br>Ephes. v.22-33. | Scripture:<br>St.Matt.xix.3-8.  | Scripture:<br>St.Matt.xix.3-8.                     |
| Exhortation or Exposition  | Very short Exhortation  | Very short Exhortation                             |
| Psalm 128  |   |  |
| Vaterunser   |   |  |
| Marriage Prayer  | Marriage Prayer<br>Psalm 113 (Pullain only)   |  |
| Dismissal & Blessing   | Blessing  | Blessing<br>Psalm 128                              |

It will be seen from the above that the FP is the briefest of the several forms, but the dependence of it upon the others is marked. Hubert has shown in his chapter on the Trauordnungen the dependence of the Reformed Strasburg Orders upon the old Catholic Orders, showing also that the compilers held themselves free to depart as they judged prudent from the old forms. But all that was essential was retained in the Reformed Orders.

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# THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

## THE FORME OF MARRIAGE.

## RATIO INSTITVENDI MATRIMONII.

AFTER the banes or contracte hath  
byn published thre seuerall dayes  
in the congregation  
(to the intent that if any person  
haue intereste or title to either  
of the parties, they may haue suf-  
ficient tyme to make theyr cha-  
1. lenge )  
the parties assemble at the be-  
gynning of the sermon  
2. and minister\* at tyme conuenient,  
saythe as followeth,

PRIMUM publicatio matrimonii semel,  
bis ac iterum per Ministrum in fre-  
quentia totius Ecclesiae diuulgatur,  
diuersis temporum vicibus, quò siquid  
videbitur quod ad quenquam pertineat,  
cuique ius suum vendicandi ac perse-  
quendi facultas libera, tempusque  
concedatur. Demû post promulgatû hoc  
modo quo diximus, contractum, adsunt in  
têplò initio concionis, ii qui inituri  
sunt matrimoniû, postulâtèque tempore  
Minister huc in modum incipit.

The exhortation.

Minister.

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\*The definite article is omitted before "minister".

1. The publishing of the banns was in accordance with the old Church custom as we see, e.g., by the directions in the Sarum rite: "Debet... sacerdos banna in facie ecclesie infra missatum solennia cum maior populi affuerit multitudo, per tres dies solennes & disiunctos, interrogare.." This practice was continued in all branches of the early Reformed Church, the banns being published at the main service of the day. It is interesting to note also, that CALVIN, PULLAIN, Reformed German Marriage services, the RCP (all editions), the RCO, the FP (all editions), and the West.Dir. and still later the Savoy Lit., all require the banns to be published "three several Sundays" before the celebration of the marriage.

Many of the old barriers to marriage were removed by the Reformers, especially that which counted godfatherhood as a relationship. On this, cf. e.g. HUBERT: Die straszbg. lit. Ordnung., chapt. 'Die Trauordnungen'. pp. xlvii. sq.

2. In PULLAIN the marriage took place not before the sermon, but after it and the prayers following: "Tum (after opening Psalm) Minister concionem more solito absoluit, aut si videatur, periochen ex scriptura praelegit tempori et rei convenientem... His peractis, et precibus dietis pro more, immediate de suggestis astantes coniuges sic alloquitur."

CALVIN's practice, however, coincides with the FP, for in his La Forme we read that "les parties se viennent presenter au commencement du sermon. Lors, le Ministre dit:..."

Sprott (RCO, p. 204) tells us that "in Scotland... the marriage was at first performed after the Reader's service, and before sermon. Thus in 1600 the Glasgow Session decrees that those who 'go away after marriage..., and stay not sermon, shall be counted totally absent'." Later, the practice seems to have changed, in some cases at least, for we have Sir Thomas Hope mentioning that the marriage of his son in the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, in 1638, took place on "Sunday immediately after the preaching." (op.cit. p. xliii.)

With regard to the actual day on which marriages were to be celebrated, although it is not mentioned specifically in the FP, it was likely Sunday. The First Book of Discipline orders, e.g., that marriages are to be performed before noon on Sundays, and Hume Brown indicates that Knox himself was married on a Palm Sunday (Knox, ii. 200-201). And the Puritan practice in England was to have marriages on Sundays. The General Assembly in Scotland in 1579 so far extended the practice as to permit marriages to be celebrated on "feriall dayes" as well as on Sunday, preaching being then joined thereto (Book of the Universal Kirk, year 1579, section 'Questiones proponit be the Synodallis'). PULLAIN may have permitted marriages on other days besides Sunday; the rubric is not absolutely definite; it is as follows: "Denique diem (Does this mean any day?) ipsum populo denunciat, quo coeptum coniugium solenni ritu absoluat coram tota Ecclesia. Adsunt omnes frequentes, cum vt orent pro desponsis, tum vt audiant et discant semper verum vsum coniugii, et officium coniugum." The RCP permits marriages on other days as well as Sundays. And in Scotland the custom of marriages on Sundays died out gradually (though it is still common in England), because of the 'riotous profanation' of the day which so often followed the ceremony, so that when the West.Dir. was drawn up its rubric advised that marriage "be not on the Lord's Day", while it also forbade it to be celebrated on a "day of Publique humiliation".

With regard to the place: from the earliest times (as is seen by the old German Trauordnungen) the Reformers insisted on the marriage being celebrated in the church and before the face of the congregation. That was an unvarying and unbroken rule. In practice, CALVIN, PULLAIN, RUCER, A'LASCO, KNOX, are all at one. And the West.Dir. also requires that marriage be solemnized publicly "in the place appointed by authority for Publique Worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses."



THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

DEARLIE beloued bretherne,  
we are here gathered together in  
the sight of God, and in the face  
of his cōgregation, to knytt and  
ioyne these parties together in  
the honorable estate of matrimony,  
which was instituted and auctorisēd  
by God hym selff in paradise, man  
being then in the state of innocen-  
cie.<sup>1</sup> For what tyme God made  
heauen and earthe, and all that is  
in theym, and had created and  
fasshoned man also after his owne  
similitude and likenes, vnto whome  
he gaue rule and lordship ouer all  
the beastes of the earthe, fisshes  
of the sea, and fowles of the ayre:  
he said it is not good that man  
lyue alone, let vs make hym an hel-  
per like vnto hym selff.  
And God brought a fast sleape vppon  
hym, and toke one of his ribbes, and  
shaped Eua therof,  
doynge vs therby to vnderstand that,  
man and wife, are one body, one  
fleshe, and one blood.<sup>2</sup>

CONVENTVM est huc, fratres,  
<sup>quidem</sup> hoc tepōre, vt hos simul coram Deo  
ac Ecclesia ipsius,  
coniugali nexu,  
ac in honorifico matrimonii  
statu coniungamus,  
quem ipsemet Dominus  
in paradiso primum instituit ac con-  
secrauit, dñ ipsius ad huc hominis mane-  
bat innocētię puritas. Cūprimū enim Deus  
celū & terrā, horūq; ambitu quicqd  
vsquā cōtinetur, cōdidisset.  
Deinde & hominē ad suam ipsius constitui-  
set imaginem, cui & praeffecturā dedit  
in omne animantiū terrestriū, natan-  
tiū, ac volatiliū genus.  
Non est, inquit, bonum hominem esse  
solum. Adiungamus adiutorium illi, ad  
eandem naturae suae similitudinem:  
Moxque soporem illi induxit, simulque  
educta de latere costula,  
Heuam suo Adamo consimilem effigiauit.  
Quae res cumprimum declarat natiuam  
coniunctionem inter maritum & coniugem,  
qui duo in carne vna existunt:

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1. Thus far the exhortation is taken almost word for word from the RCP, 1552, which is as follows: "Dearely beloued frendes, we are gathered together here in the syght of God, and in the face of hys congregacion, to ioyne together thys man and thys womanne in holy matrimonie, whiche is an honorable estate: instituted of god in Paradise, in the time of mans innocency." The RCP here is deriued from the Sarum use: "Ecce conuenimus huc fratres coram deo... in facie ecclesie ad coniungendum duo corpora scilicet huius viri & huius mulieris.."; and from Necessary doctrine, 1548, - "the fyrst institution of matrimonye, as it was ordeyned by god in Paradise." (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, ii. p. 800. Necessary Doctrine is described in op cit., i. p. lv.)

2. From "For what tyme God made...." to "and one blood", is derived almost directly from HUYCKES translation of CALVIN, as the following excerpt from his exhortation shows; it begins as follows: "WHAT tyme God our bountifull Father had made heauen and earthe and all that is in them: And had created and fasshoned man also after hys owne similitude and lykenes, vnto whom he gaue rule and lordshyp ouer all the beastes of the yearthe, fysshes of the sea, and fowles of the ayre, he said: It is not good y man liue alone, let vs make hī an helper lyke vnto hys self. And our Lord brought a slūber vpon Adam, so that he became fast aslepe, & than God toke one of his ribbes & shaped Eue therof, doing vs therby to vnderstand, that mā and wife are one body, one fleshe, & one bloud."

HUYCKE, of course, derived his translation directly from Calvin; and Calvin took his marriage exhortation this far word for word from FAREL's Neuchatel Liturgy, 1533. I do not quote Calvin here, but only Farel, because, except for slight differences in spelling, the agreement of the one with the other is absolute.) Farel's is as follows: "DIEU nostre pere, apres auoir oree le ciel et la terre, et tout ce qui est en iceulx, il orea et informa l'homme a son image et semblance, qui est la domination et seigneurie sur les bestes de la terre, les poissons de la mer, les oyseaux du ciel, disant apres auoir oree l'homme: Il nest pas bon que l'homme soit seul, faisons luy vne ayde semblable a luy. Et nostre seigneur fist tomber vng gros sommeil sur Adam: et ainsi que Adam dormoit, Dieu print vne de ces costes diceluy, et en forma Eue, donnant entendre que l'homme et la femme ne sont qu'vng corps, vne chair, et vng sang." (BAUM's edn. p. 50).

The exhortation in FAREL is based on the Scripture which was read at the Marriage Service at Strasburg (where Farel was just previous to 1533) in the German Churches from Gen. i., Eph. v., and St. Matt. xix. Cf. HUBERT: Die Kirchenordnungen der Schweiz, strasb. lit. Ordnung., pp. 3-5.



THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

Signifyinge also vnto vs the mysticall vnion, that is betwixt<sup>1</sup> Christe and his church<sup>e</sup>, for the which cause man leaueth his father and mother, and taketh hym to his wife, to kepe company with her, the which also he ought\* to loue, euē as our sauior loueth his church<sup>e</sup>, that is to say his electe, and faithfull congregation, for the which he gaue his liffe. And semblably, also it is the wiues dewtie, to studie to please and obey her howseband, seruyng hym in all thynges that be godly and honeste, for she is in subiectiō, and vnder the gouernance of her howsebande, so long as they contynue bothe alyue.

tum petissimum nobis mysticam illam exprimit societatem inter Christum & Ecclesiam. Quapropter deserto patre ac matre, vir adhaerescat propriae coniugi, quam velut suam ipsius carnem complectetur: non secus atque Ecclesiam ipsius fouet Christus, electorem videlicet, ac fidelium gregem, pro quibus suam impendit vitam. Consimiliter & vxor pari reuerētia prosequatur virum in rebus legitimis omnibus morigera, seque illi tanquam capiti subiectam esse per omnem vitam, meminerit. Porro quos conglutinat coniugalī necessitudinis vinculum, sic sibi inter se deuinciri cogitent, vt neuter suae iam potestatis sit apt iuris.

And this holie marriage beyng a thyng<sup>e</sup> moste honorable, is of suche vertue and force, that therby the howseband hathe no more right or power ouer his own bodie, but the wyfe, and likewise the wyfe hathe no power, ouer her own body, but the housband,<sup>2</sup> forasmuche as God hathe so knytt theym together in this mutuall societie to the procreation of children, that they should bryng theym vp in the feare of the lorde,<sup>3</sup>

Siquidem ea matrimonii fides ac officium est, vt vxor sui corporis potestatem non habeat, sed maritus, itidem neque vir.

Sic enim visum est Deo marem ac foeminam coniungere, arctissima societatis lege, ad liberorum procreationem, vt eos sancte educandos curent,

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\* misprint for "ought".

1. This clause is from the RCP, 1552: "signifying vnto vs the mystical vnion that is betwixte Chryst & his Church<sup>e</sup>"; which in its turn is derived thorough the edn. of 1549 from the Necessary doctrine: "it dothe signifie this other coniunction, which is betwene Christ and his church<sup>e</sup>"; and ultimately from St. Paul to the Ephesians, chap. v. 23. (cf. DRIGMAN: *op. cit.*, ii. 800.)

2. From "for the which cause" to "but the housband", is taken almost verbally from HUYCKE, whose exhortation is resumed from where it was broken for the insertion of the above clause from the RCP. HUYCKE's version is: "for the which cause mā leaueth his father and mother and taketh hym to hys wyfe to keepe companye with her, the which also he ought to loue euen so as our sauour loueth his church: that is to say, his elect & faythful congregacion, for the which he gaue hys lyfe. And seably also it is y wifes duty to study to please & obey her husband seruyng him in al thinges y be godly & honest, for she is in subieccion & vnder y gouernance of her husband, so long as they continue both alyue. And thys holys marriage being a thyng most honorable (for so muche as it was ordeyned of God) is of such operaciō & vrtue, that therby the husband hath no more right or power ouer hys own body, but y wyfe: And likewise y wyfe hath no power of her own body, but the husbāde."

CALVIN's version of the above is as follows: "Parquoy l'homme laisse pere et mere, et est adherant à sa femme: laquelle il doit aimer, ainsi que Iesus aime son Eglise, c'est à dire les vrais fideles et Chrestiens, pour lesquels il est mort. Et aussi la femme doit seruir et obeir à son mary en toute sainteté et



and to the increase of Christes kyng- ad amplificationē regni Christi.  
 1. dome. Wherefore they that be thus Itaque qui sic se matrimonii iure ob-  
 coupled together by God, can not be strinxerint, coniungente Deo, nullo  
 seuered, or put a parte, oneles it pacto se diuellant aut fraudent, nisi  
 be for a season with thassent of forte ad tempus ac ex concensu  
 bothe parties, to theē to geue them mutuo, studio  
 selues the more feruentlie to fas- orationis ac ieiunii,  
 tyng and prayer, gyuyng diligent neque diu à congressu  
 hede in the meane tyme that their tēperent, sed mox in pristinam  
 longe beyng aparte, be not a snare redeant consuetudinem, ne tentet  
 to bryng thē into the daunger of Sa- eos satan, qui nusquam non vigilat  
 tan through incontinnencie, and ther- in perniciem nostram. Vnusquis-  
 fore to auoyde fornication, euery que igitur sui animi & corporis conscius,  
 man oughte to haue his owne wyffe, propter vitādam struprum, propriae se ad-  
 and euery woman her owne howshand, dicat coniugi, ac illa vicissim viro suo,  
 necubi in incontinnencie laqueum impingat.

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Note continued from preceding page.

et honnesteté. Car elle est subiecte, et en la puissance du mary, tant qu'elle vit avec luy. Et ce saint Mariage honorable, institué de Dieu, et de telle vertu, que par iceluy le mary n'a point la puissance de son corps, mais la femme; aussi la femme n'a point la puissance de son corps, mais le mary."

CALVIN borrowed his words here also from FAREL (ibid): "Parquoy l'homme laisse pere et mere, et adherant a sa femme. Laquelle il doit aymer ainsi que Iesus aime son eglise, cest a dire, les vrayz fideles et chrestiens, pour lesquels il est mort, et de son sang quil a espandu les a lauez, purgez et nettoyez pour les rendre a soy sans macule, ride ne souillure. Et aussi la feme doit seruir et obeir a son mary en toute saintete et honnestete car elle est sujete et en la puissance du mary tant quelle vit avec luy. Et ce saint mariage, honorable, institue de Dieu, est de telle vertu que par iceluy le mary na point la puissance de son corps: mais la femme; aussi la femme na point la puissance de son corps mais le mary. Parquoy, conjointz de Dieu, ne peuvent estre separez..." (BAUM's edn.) This is derived largely from 1 Cor. vii, which was used in the German lit. at Strasburg from 1525 onwards. Cf HUBERT: op. cit. p. 4.  
Note 3, from preceding page.

From "forasmuche as God" to "of the lorde" is taken from the RCP, 1552: "Duelly cōsidering the causes for whiche Matrimony was ordained. One was the procreaciō of childrē, to be broughte vp in the feare and nurture of the Lorde, and prayse of God.", which in its turn through the edn. of 1549, was derived from S. AUGUSTINE: de mor. Manichaeorum: "nuptiae autem... liberorum procreandorum cause marem foeminamque coniungunt. Eph. vi. 4." (BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, ii. 800-802).

1. Here after the interjection of the concluding phrase of the last sentence, HUYCKE is again taken up where he was left off; and continues to be followed to the end of the exhortation. The following is that which corresponds to what is found on this page: "Whereby also they that bee thus coupled together of God, cannot be seuered or putte aparte, vnlesse it bee for a season with the assente of both parties, to the ende to geue thēselues the more feruētly to fasting and prayer: geuyng diligent heede in the meane time that theyr long being aparte, bee not a snare to brynge them into the daunger of Sathan, through incontinnencie: and for that cause they oughte in due tyme to come together agayn. And for thys end, that is, to auoyde fornication, euery man ought to haue his owne wyfe, and euery woman her owne husbände. So that so many as..."

CALVIN, of which Huycke is the translation, is as follows: "Parquoy conioinctz de Dieu ne peuvent estre separez, ~~mais~~ que par aucun temps, du consentement de l'un de l'autre, pour vaguer à ieusne et oraison, gardant bien qu'ilz ne soyent tentez de Satan par incontinnence. Et pourtant, doyuent retourner ensemble. Car pour eviter fornication, un chascun doit avoir sa femme, et une chascune femme son mary; tellement que tous...."  
 Calvin is derived directly from FAREL: "Parquoy, conjointz de Dieu, ne peuvent estre separez, fors que par aucun temps du consentement de l'un et de l'autre, pour vaguer a ieusne et oraison, gardant bien qu'ilz ne soyent tentez de sathan par incontinnence. Et pourtant doibuent retourner ensemble, car pour euitier fornication vng chascun femme son mary, tellement que tous ceulx qui ne se peuvent contenir, et qui nont...."



# THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

so that, so many as can not lyue chaste, are bounde by the commandement of God to mary, that therby, the holye temple of God, which is our bodies, may be kept pure and vndefiled:

for synce

owr bodies are now become the very membres of Iesus Christe, howe horrible, and detestable a thyng is it, to make theym the members of an harlot? in membra putidi scorti transformare? Every one ought therefore, to kepe his vessel in all purenes, and holines, for whosoever polluteth and defileth the temple of God, hym will God destroye.<sup>1</sup>

Qui enim tales sunt vt secus se cōtinere nequeant, Diuino coguntur iussu, inire matrimonii coniunctionem, quo templum Dei sanctum, ipsorum videlicet corpora, incorrupta, ac indelibata conseruentur. Postquam etenim sic toti Deo consecrati sumus, vt corpora nostra vera membra sint corporis Christi, cuius id foeditatis fuerit, eadem nos Demus igitur operam, vt suum quisque vas possideat cum honore ac sanctificatione. Qui enim templum ac domicilium Dei polluerit, hunc perdet Dominus.

Here the minister speakethe to the parties that shalbe mariede in this wise.<sup>2</sup>

Hic Minister ad eos conuersus qui matrimonium inituri sunt, hac inter-rogatione vtrumque interpellat.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. Beginning from the top of the page, HUYCKE continues: "So that, so manye as can not lyue chaste, for that they haue not the gyft of chastitie, are bounde by the commaundemente of God to mary: that therby the holy temple of God (to witte) oure bodies are now become the very mēbres of Iesu<sup>s</sup> Christe, how horrible & detestable a thyng is it, to make thē the membres of an harlot? wherfore every one ought to kepe hys vessel in all purenes and holynesse: for whosoever polluteth and dyshonoureth the temple of God, hym will God destroye."

[ may be kept pure and vndefyled. For sithens our bodies ]  
se

CALVIN is as follows: "tellement que tous ceulx qui ne se peuvent contenir, et qui n'ont le don de continence, sont obligez, par le commandement de Dieu de se marier: afin que le saint Temple de Dieu, c'est à dire noz corps, ne soient violez et corrompez. Car puis que nos corps sont membres de Iesus Christ, ce serait un trop grand oultrage d'en faire membres de la paillarde. Parquoy on les doit garder en toute sainteté, Car si aucun viole le Temple de Dieu, Dieu le détruira."

Calvin's source, FAREL, is as follows: "tellement que tous ceulx qui ne se peuvent contenir, et qui n'ont le don de continence, sont obligez par le commandement de Dieu de soy marier: affin que le saint temple de Dieu, cest a dire, noz corps, ne soient violez et corrompez. Car puisque noz corps sont membres de Iesus Christ, grandement nous est deffendu, den faire membres de la paillarde, parquoy on les doibt garder en toute sainteté, car si aucun viole le temple de Dieu, Dieu le détruira, et singulierement au saint estat de mariage, comme nostre seigneur bien demonstre, commandant que la femme qui rompt son mariage, quelle meurt de mort, elle et le paillard." I have quoted Farel's exhortation to the end. Calvin leaves out most of his last sentence, and Huycke and the FP follow Calvin.

2. This rubric is suggested by the rubric in the RCP, 1552, which says: "And also speakyng to the persones that shalbe married, he shall saye." It is derived through the edition of 1549 from the Sarum use. (Cf BRIGHTMAN: Eng-Rite, ii. p. 802.)

THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

I REQUIRE and charge you, as you will answer at the day of Iudgement, whē the secretes of all hartes shalbe disclosed,

that if either of you do knowe any impediment, whie ye may not be lawfully ioyned to gether in matrimony, that ye do cōfesse it, for be ye well assured that so many as be coupled otherwise then godes woorde dothe allowe, are not ioyned together by God, neyther is theyr matrimony lawfull.<sup>1</sup>

If no impediment be knownen then the minister sayeth.<sup>2</sup>

I TAKE you to wittenes that be here present, besechyng you all to haue good remembraunce hereof, and moreouer if there be any of you, which knoweth that either of these parties ha<sup>e</sup> contracted to any other, or knoweth any other lawfull impediment, let theym now make declaration therof.<sup>3</sup>

If no cawse be alleaged the Minister proceedith sayinge.<sup>2</sup>

PRIMUM hīc fidem vestram<sup>am</sup> obstringo coram Christo, qui animorum omniū secreta & nouit, & iudicabit eo die quo singuli reddituri sunt rationem, ut si quid comperiatis quominus hae nuptiae coire debeāt legitimē, ne dissimuletis. Sic enim statuite, nuptias illas quae secus quam iuxta diuini verbi prae-scriptum suspiciūtur, neque à Deo auctore proficisci, nec vlla ratione recta, ac legitima constare.

Si nihil impedimenti obiicatur, tum Minister his verbis compellat populum.

QUOTIVOT hīc interestis, amici in Christo fratres, mihi in hac re testes esse vniuersos velim: precorquē ut quae hīc hodie geruntur, post hac memori in animo velitis recordere, si res fortē posthac postulet testimonium. Praeterea si quisquam adfuerit qui nuptiis iam coeuntibus refragari, aut contractus quoscunque his opponendos aut remoram quamcunque aliam proferre queat: locus tempusque sententiam aperiendi liberē permittitur.

Si nemo quioquam reclamet, pergithunc in modum Minister.

\*\*\*\*\*

\*Misprint for "be" (Corrected by printer at end of volume)

1. This is taken directly and verbally from the RCP, 1552, except that the word "deadful" is here omitted Before "day of judgement". Through the edition of 1549, RCP, this paragraph is mainly derived from York use, which was as follows: "Also I charge you both and eyther be your selfe, as ye wyll answer before God at the day of dome, that yf there be any thyng... or that ye knowe any lawfull lettynge why that ye may not be wedded together at thys time, ye say it nowe or we do any more to this mater." (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, ii. 802). There is no challenge ~~to the couple to be married, in Calvin, Pullain, or any of the early Reformed Strasburgian German orders for marriage, but only a general one to the people.~~

(as in RCP?)

2. Both these rubrics may be taken as derived from the RCP, 1552, though they are much shorter. The rubric of 1552 (and 1549) deals also with the action which is to follow if any ~~allegation~~ impediment is alleged; here that is omitted. The rubric is derived from the Sarum rite. (BRIGHTMAN: *ibid.*)

3. This second challenge, to the people, is framed exactly in the words of HUYCKE, ~~and it stands after the challenge to the couple instead of before as in the RCP.~~ The RCP, following Luther and not the old rites, also charges them, if they do not speak now, forever to hold their peace. That is omitted here. (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: *ibid.*)

Preceded by a short promise to live in the holy estate of matrimony as God hath instituted it (This betrothal or promise is found in CALVIN, FAREL, and the early Strasburgian orders, the similarity of language showing their intimate relationship.), HUYCKE proceeds as follows: "I take you to witness, that be here present, beseeching you all to haue good remembraunce therof, & moreouer if there bee any man here present whiche knoweth that eyther of these parties be contracted to any other, or knoweth anye other lawful impediment, lette them now make declaracion therof."



THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

FORASMUCHE as no man speaketh  
agaynste this thyng,  
you. N. shall proteste here before  
God, and his holy congregation,  
that you haue takyn,  
and are now contented to haue. N.  
here present for your lafull wyfe,  
and spowse, promisyng to kepe her,  
to loue ad intreate her in all  
thynges accordyng to the dewtie of  
a faythfull howsband, forsaking all  
other duryng her lyfe,  
ad briefelie to lyue in a holy con-  
uersation with her kepyng faythe  
and trewthe in all poyntes,  
accordyng as the worde of God, and  
his holie gospell dothe commaunde.<sup>1.</sup>

QUANDOQVIDEM neminem video qui ex  
aduerso se opponat huic contractui,  
Tu N. coram Deo ac publica Ecclesiae  
huius frequentia fidem obfirmabis tuam,  
penitus in animo decretum esse,  
vt N. hanc tibi sponsam adiungas,  
  
deames,  
  
illique adhaereas vni, caeteris repu-  
diatis omnibus, quoad illi vita suppetat.  
Denique sic praestes erga eam coniu-  
galem fidem, cum sancta morum conuer-  
satione, quae tum officio tuo,  
tum Evangelicis praeceptionibus respon-  
deat.

The answer.

Sponsus.

EVEN so I take her before God and  
in the presence of this his congre-  
gation.<sup>2.</sup>

ASTIPVLOR recipioque coram Deo,  
Ecclesiaeque ipsius, hec me omnia per  
Diuini potentiam effecturum esse.

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Note continued from preceding page.

CALVIN has the following, of which Huycke is a close translation: "Je vous  
prens tous, qui estes icy presens, en tesmoings, vous priant en auoir souuenance:  
toutesfois s'il y a aucun, qui sache quelque empeschement, ou que aucun d'eux /u  
soit lie par Mariage avec aultre, qu'il le die."

FAREL, from whom Calvin is derived, is as follows: "Je vous prens tous qui  
estes icy presens en tesmoings, vous priant en auoir souuenance, toutes foys  
sil y a aucun qui sache quelque empeschement, selon que Dieu a deffendu, ou  
que aucun de eulx soit lie par mariage avec autre, qu'il le die par bonne charite."

The Strasburg Psalter (edns. 1528 onwards—of HUBERT: Strasb. Lit. Ordnung., p. 13)  
—one of the editions ~~xxx~~ between 1528 and 1533, which influenced Farel (Cf.  
ERICHSOHN: Zur Geschichte der altstrab. evang. Trauordnung., and DOUMERGUE:  
Calvin, ii. 496) is as follows: "Darauß der pfarrer:) so nym ich euch  
ymbstender alle zû gezeugen vnd bit euch solichs zû gedencken. darzû ist  
yemandts hie zû wissen hindernisz der ee an diszen personen, sibschafft oder  
mogschafft halbenn auss göttlichem gebott oder das jr eins gegen andern per-  
sonen sunst verpflichtet vnd der ee halb verbunden were, der wölle das melden  
zum ersten, zum andern, zum dritten mal." (There is no opening exhortation in the German.)

1. This also is taken largely from HUYCKE, except the clause "forsaking all  
other duryng her lyfe", which is from the betrothal question in the RCP, and  
which is ultimately derived from the Sarum use: "& omnes alias propter eam  
dimittere". (Cf. v. BRIGHTMAN: *ibid*). HUYCKE is as follows: "For so muche as no  
man speaketh agaynste this thing, you N. protest here before God & his holy  
congregation, that you haue taken and are now contented to haue, N. here  
present for your wedded wife and spouse: promising to kepe her, to loue her,  
to intreat & use her vprightly, euen as the parteis of a very louing & faithfull  
husbande, to behaue himselfe towards hys wyfe: & briefly to leade an holy  
life with her, keeping faith & trueth in al pointes, according as y word of  
God & his holy Gospel doth comaund."

CALVIN follows: "Puis qu'il n'y a personne qui contredise... (here follows a  
short word of blessing and confirmation, which Huycke omits in his translation)  
Vous N. confessez icy deuant Dieu et sa saincte Congregation, que vous avez  
pris et prenez, pour vostre femme et espouse N. icy present, laquelle pro-  
mettez garder, en l'aimant et entretenant fidelement, ainsi que le devoir d'un  
vray et fidele mary est à sa femme: vivant saintement avec elle, luy gardant  
foy et loyaulte en toutes choses, selon la saincte parolle de Dieu, et son  
sainct Evangile?"

FAREL's version is similar: "Puisquil ny a personne qui contredise...  
Vous N. confessez icy, deuant Dieu et sa ~~congregation~~ saincte congregation, que  
vous auez pris et prenez pour vostre femme et espouse N. icy presente, laquelle  
promettez garder en laymant et entretenant fidelement, ainsi que vng vray et  
fidele mary doit faire sa femme, vivant saintement avec elle, lui gardant  
foy et loyaulte en toutes choses, selon la saincte parolle de Dieu et son  
sainct euangile." Here it has but little, if any, connection with the German.  
(Cf. HUBERT: *op. cit.*, p. 14.) for significance of "have taken" is above, cf. HUBERT: *op. cit.* p. 141.

2. This answer is the product of the compilers of the FP themselves, and is not  
from the *original*.



# THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

The minister to the spouse  
also saythe.

YOV. N. shall proteste here be-  
fore the face of God, in the presence  
of this holy congregation, that ye  
haue takyn and are now contented to  
haue. N. here present for your law-  
full howsband, promisyng to hym  
subiectiō, and obediēce, forsakyng  
all other duryng hys lyfe, and fy-  
nallie to lyue in a holy conuersa-  
tion with hym keepinge faithe and  
truethe in all poyntes as Godes  
woorde doth prescribe.<sup>1</sup>

Deinde sponsam ipsam minister  
eadem ratione compellabit.

TV. N. dabis fidem tuam, attes-  
tante Deo ac Ecclesia ipsius, te fir-  
mo animā proposito statuere, vt N. hunc  
sponsum tibi legitimis nuptiis adiunctū  
habeas,  
promittens illi  
te subditam morigerāque fore, caeteris  
quibusque repudiatis, quoad victura sis,  
confirmās. Denique te sic acturam cum  
illo in sancta morum conuersatione, cum  
omni fide ac integritate coniugali, vt sacro  
Dei verbo praescriptum ac imperatum est.

The answer.

EVEN so I take hym before God  
and in the presence of this his  
congregation.<sup>2</sup>

Sponsa.

ITA coram Deo ac Ecclesia ipsius  
polliceor me per Dei gratiam  
facturam.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. This question also is from HUYCKE, save the short clause from the RCP as in the question preceding. HUYCKE is as follows: "You. N. protest here solemnly before the face of God in the presence of hys holye congregacion, that ye haue taken, and are now contented to haue N. here presente for your lawfull husband, promisyng vnto the same lowlye subieccion, and seruiable obedyence: and as Godes woorde and hys holy gospell doth prescribe."

CALVIN has it thus: "Vous N. confessez ici devant Dieu et sa saincte Congregation, que vous avez prins et prenez, pour vostre legitime mary, auquel promettez obeir, luy servant et estant subiecte, vivant saintement, luy gardant foy et loyaulte en toutes choses, ainsi qu'une fidele et loyalle espouse doit a son mary, selon la parolle de Dieu et le sainte Evangile?"

FAREL's version is similar: "Vous N. confessez icy deuant Dieu et sa saincte assemblee, que vous auez prins et prenez N. pour vostre legitime mary, auquel promettez obeir, lui servant et estant subiecte, vivant saintement, luy gardant foy et loyaulte en toutes choses, ainsi que vne fidele et loyalle espouse doit a son mary selon la parolle de Dieu et le sainte euangile."

The German Psalter question, with which there is only the slightest agreement, is as follows: "Ich gestand, das ich dich, N., genomen hab vnd nym dich zu meiner eefrawen." (Cf. HURBERT: *op.cit.* p. 14.) The German Psalter of 1530 onwards indicates that the words from which Farel drew words he took from 1530 & 1532. This is from the Psalter of 1530 (onwards). That of 1526 has only this vow, repeated after the Minister: "Ich gestand, das ich dich, N., genomen hab vnd nym dich zu meiner eefrawen." (Cf. HURBERT: *op.cit.* p. 14.)

2. There is no mention, after the vows have been taken, of the ceremony of the ring. It was not the custom in the early Reformed Church to use the ring, and therefore the forms of marriage are all silent concerning it, (i.e. those of Strasburg and in the Calvinistic tradition), from the earliest Strasburg Reformed order to the Westminster Directory which expressly directs that no "further ceremony" be used. MACMILLAN (*Thesis*, 347) says that the ring was sometimes used in Scotland, but rarely. He quotes CALDERWOOD as distinguishing between the religious and secular use of the ring—"Hunc ritum non damnaremus, si foedera ciuili modo celebrarentur" (*Alt. Danaso*, 870). Calderwood held that the objection to its use in the service was the superstitious rite of placing the ring on the priest's book to be blessed. (Cf. SPROTT: *ECO*, p. xliv.)

In the early Strasburg rites, and in Calvin, Farel, and Pullain, and the later Puritan editions of the FP, as here, there is no declaration that the couple are now man and wife; that is because the doctrine was that the Church only blessed the marriage—consent makes marriage. (Cf. HURBERT: *op.cit.* p. lii.) In the West. Dir., following the RCP, it was directed that the Minister should "in the face of the Congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to Gods Ordinance."

In FAREL, CALVIN, HUYCKE, and PULLAIN, and West. Dir., a short prayer follows here, but not in the Strasburg rite. I quote FAREL's prayer, from which the others were directly derived: "Le pere de toute misericorde qui de sa grace vous a appelez a ce saint estat de mariage, pour lamour de Iesuschrist son filz, qui par sa saincte presence a sanctifie le mariage, faisant la le premier signe deuant ses apostres, vous doint son saint esperit, pour parfaire en ce noble estat sa saincte volonte. Amen."

It is likely that there was joining of hands when the vows were being taken, although it is not mentioned in the rubrics of Calvin, Huycke, Farel or the above FP. Pullain, however mentions it, as do also the German Psalter rubrics (all eds). It is safe to argue from silence here, vto deduct that it was not mentioned, because it was a natural and universal custom, and therefore taken for granted.



## THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

Giue diligent eare to the gospell <sup>C</sup>AVSVLTATE igitur Euangelicę lectioni,  
 that ye may vnderstande how our lorde auditori quo pacto Dominus  
 wolde haue his holy contracte kept coniugalem contractum summa cum fide  
 and obserued, and how sure and faste obseruari, tum quā firmam hanc esse  
 a knott it is, which may in no wise coniunctionem voluit, quemadmodum  
 be lowsed accordyng as we be taughte in Matthei decimonono expressum  
 in the 19 chap. of S. Mathewes gospell. est.

THE pharisies came vnto Christe to Et accesserunt ad eum Pharisei,  
 tepte hym and to grope his mynde, tentantes eum, &  
 sayinge, Is it lawfull for a mā to dicentes ei, Licet ne homini  
 put away his wife for euery lighte diuortium facere cum vxore sua qualibet  
 cause? he answered sayenge, haue ye ex causa? Qui respondens, ait eis. An  
 not read that he which created man non legistis quod is qui fecit ab  
 at the begynnyng, made theym male initio, masculum & foeminam  
 and female? sayeng, for this thyng fecit eos? Et dixit, Propterea  
 shall man leaue father and mother, deseret homo patrem & matrem,  
 and cleaue vnto his wife, and they & adglutinabitur vxori suae, &  
 twayne shalbe one flesshe, so that erunt duo in carnem vnam. Itaque  
 they are no more two, but are one iam non sunt duo, sed vna  
 flesshe. Lett no man therfore put caro. Quod ergo Deus copulauit,  
 a sonder, that which God hathe homo ne separet, &c.  
 cowpled together.

IF ye beleue assueredlie these Si certa veraque haec  
 woordes which our lorde and sauour que  
 did speake (accordyng as ye haue hard recitauimus  
 theym now rehearsed owte of the holy ex Euangelio,  
 gospell) then may you be certayne, that creditis, firmum ac persuasum habete,  
 God hath euen so knytt you together & Deum vos similiter conglutinasse, sac-  
 in this holy state of wedlocke. ro hoc & irreuulso nuptiarum vinculo:  
 Wherefore applie your selues, to lyue nunc vestri officii fuerit, curare  
 a chaste and holie lyfe together, in deinceps, vt connubialem hanc copulam  
 godlie loue, in christian peace, and morum comitate, fide ac castimonia  
 good example, euer holdinge faste, indies arctiorem reddatis, quam arctis-  
 the band of charitie withowte any simē, interim retinentes mutuae pacis ac  
 breache, kepinge faithe and trueth, charitatis nexum, tum ad tranquillitatem  
 thone to the other euen as goodes vestram, nec minus ad piū aliorum exem-  
 1. plum, tum potissimum ad gloriam Dei qui  
 woorde dothe appoynte. vos coniunxit.

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Cap 2. This Gospel and exhortation is taken verbally from HUYCKE, who has it as follows:  
 "Giue diligent eare to the gospel, that ye maye vnderstande how our Lord would  
 haue this holie contracte obserued and kept, and how sure and faste a knot it  
 is, whiche may in no xxx wise be loosd, accordyng as we be taughte in the. xix.  
 Chapter of Sainct Mathewe. (New paragraph) The Phariseis came vnto Christ,  
 to tempte him, & to grope hys mynde, saying: Is it lawfull for a man to put  
 away his wife for euery lyght cause? He made aunswere vnto thē, saying: haue  
 ye not read in y scripture, that he which created mā in the begynnyng, made  
 euen then. ii. sexis, to wete, both the man & the womā, saying: therefore shal  
 a mā leaue hys father & mother, & shal continue with his wife, and they two  
 shalbe one flesh, in such sort, that they are now two no lōger, but one very  
 flesh. Than, what God doth fasten together, that no manne may set apart or  
 put asunder. (New paragraph) If ye beleue



## THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

Then the minister commendeth theym  
to God in this or suche like sorte.<sup>1.</sup>

Inde Minister hao ευλογια aut  
alia consimili eos dimittit.

THE lorde sanctifie and blesse you,  
the lorde powre the riches of his  
grace vppon you,  
that  
ye may please hym, and lyue together  
in holy loue to youre lyues ende.  
So be it.<sup>2.</sup>

DOMINVS vos sanctificet ac dirigat,  
Dominus ex praediuite penu largissimos  
gratiae suae thesauros, vbertim in vos  
effundat, vt tum corpore, tum animo il-  
li placeatis in omnibus, ac vitam cum  
sancto mutuae concordiae complexu simul  
transigatis ad extremum vsque diem.

A M E N .

Then is songe the 128. Psalme.  
Blessed are they that feare the  
lorde, &c. or some other apper-  
taynyng to the same purpose.<sup>3.</sup>

His ita habitis decantatur Psal. 128,  
Beati omnes qui timent Dominum, &c.  
aut saltem alius, qui ad hoc insti-  
tutum pertineat.

(End of the Order for Marriage)

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Note continued from preceding page.

If ye beleue assuredly these wordes whiche our Lord & sauour dyd speake, accor-  
dyng as ye heare the now rehearsed out of the holy gessel: be you very certayn  
y God hath euen so knit you together, in this holy state of wedlocke. Wherefore  
applye your selues to liue a chaste and holly lyfe together, in godly loue, in  
christia peace & vnitie, euer holding fast the band of charitie without any  
breache, keepyng fayth and trueth the one to the other, euen as Goddes word  
doth appoynt you." It will be seen that the FP has followed HUYCKE closely  
here, making only occasional changes in the wording, and then always for the  
better.

CALVIN is as follows: "Escoutez l'Evangile, comme nostre Seigneur veult que  
le saint Mariage soit garde; et comme il est ferme et indissoluble, selon  
qu'il est escript en saint Matthieu au dix neufviesme chapitre: (New paragraph)  
Les Pharisiens s'approcherent de luy, le tentant, et disans: Est-il loisible  
à l'homme de laisser sa femme pour quelconque occasion? Et respondant, leur  
dist: N'avez vous point leu, que celui qui fait l'homme ~~deux personnes~~ dès le  
commencement, il fait le masle et la femelle et dist: Pour ce l'homme delais-  
sera pere et mere, et s'adiocindra à sa femme, et seront deux en une chair: et  
par ainsi, ilz ne sont plus deux, mais une chair. Donques ce que Dieu a  
conioinct, l'homme ne separe point. (New paragraph) Croyez à ces saintes pa-  
rolles que nostre Seigneur Iesus a proferées, comme l'Evangliste les recite:  
et soyez certains, que nostre Seigneur Dieu vous a conioinctz en ce saint es-  
tat de Mariage: parquoy vivez saintement ensemble, en bonne dilection, paix  
et union, gardans, vraye charité, foy et loyauté l'un et l'autre, selon le  
parole de Dieu."

FARREL is word for word the same: "Escoutez comme nostre seigneur veult que  
le saint mariage soit garde, et comme il est ferme et indissoluble, selon  
qu'il est escript en Saint Matthieu au xix<sup>e</sup> chapitre: (New paragraph)  
Les pharisiens s'approcherent de luy le tenant et disans: Est il loysible  
à l'homme de laisser sa femme pour quelconque occasion? Et respondant leur  
dist: N'avez vous point leu, que celui qui fist l'homme dès le commencement,  
il feist le masle et la femelle, et dist: Pource l'homme delaissera pere  
et mere, et se adjoindra a sa femme, et seront deux en une chair: et  
par ainsi ilz ne sont plus deux, mais vne chair, donques ce que Dieu a  
conjoint, l'homme ne separe point. (New paragraph) Croyez a ces saintes  
parolles que nostre seigneur Iesus a proferées, comme le saint euangeliste les a  
recitees, et soyez certains que nostre seigneur Dieu vous a conjointz en ce  
saint estat de mariage; parquoy vivez saintement ensemble, en bonne paix  
et vnion, gardans vraye charité, foy et loyauté l'un a l'autre, selon la  
sainte parole de Dieu. De quoy nostre seigneur vous en doint la grace."

The early Strasburg orders did not have the above introduction to the  
reading, but there were three readings suggested at this point in the service, (p. 173  
supra)  
Genesis ii. 18-24, St. Matt. xix. 3-9, and Ephesians v. 22-33. The above  
reading is from St. Matt. xix. 3-6. In the German there is a short exposition  
of the three passages, on which the exhortation at the beginning of the  
French (and later the English) service may be founded, but the verbal similarity  
is remote, while the matter is also ~~different~~ for the most part *different*.  
The conclusion, however, is very similar to the French conclusion after  
the reading above, and it is likely from this that the French is derived. It  
is as follows: "Glaubt dissen worten vnd gedenckt, das euch gott zûsammen gefügt  
hat, vnd das die ee ein götlicher stand ist, vnd haben einander lieb in trawen  
nach dem gebott des herrn, wie es euch verlesen ist!" (HUBERT: op. cit. pp. 17-18.)

1. Before the Blessing in the French orders there follows a long marriage prayer,  
as also in the Strasburg German orders. The two prayers are closely related,  
and there can be no doubt that the German (which has its roots in the old  
marriage orders of the old Church) is the source of the French. Compare  
Calvin (Corp. Ref.), Farrel (Baum's edn), and the German (Hubert).
2. This Blessing is not derived from HUYCKE (who is as follows: "Our Lord re-  
plenyshe you with hys gracyous blessinges, that you endowed with plenty of his  
riches, may lyue many yeares a vertuous & holly lyfe together."), but from



# THE ORDER FOR MARRIAGE

Note continued from preceding page.

the Blessing in the RCP at the conclusion of the marriage service. That of 1552 is as follows: "Almightie God, whiche at the begynnyng dyd create our fyrst parentes Adam and Eue, & did sanctifie & ioine the together in marriage: powre vpon you the riches of hys grace, sanctifie and blesse you, that ye may please hym both in body & soule, and liue together in holy loue, vnto your liues end. " It in turn is derived through the edn of 1549 from the Sarum use: "Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui primos parentes adam et euam sua virtute creauit: et in sua sanctificatione copulauit: ipse corda et corpora vestra sanctificet et benedicat: atque in societate & amore vere dilectionis coniugat." (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, ii. pp. 812-813.)

Note 3 on preceding page.

This Psalm is not mentioned in Huyeke, Calvin, or Farel, but PULLAIN begins his service with it, concluding it with Psalm 113. In the old German Orders it was sung after the exposition of the Scripture, and before the Marriage prayer (Cf. HUBERT: op. cit., p. 18.). It is also used in the RCP Marriage service, and belongs to the old Catholic Orders. (Cf. BRIGHTMAN: Eng. Rite, pp. 808-809.)

cap.  
cap.

ap.  
LTC

The later editions of the FP, for Eng. Puritan use, add after the Blessing this short rubric: "Then the Minister is to proceed to the ordinary exercise." It is no doubt because the marriage Service was imbedded in the ordinary service that there is no specific prayer for the newly-married; that would be included in the great prayer instead.

THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.  
DE INVISENDIS AEGROTIS.



# INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR VISITATION OF THE SICK

The Order for the Visitation of the Sick is left in the FP to the Minister's discretion. In permitting this freedom and in prescribing no fixed order, the compilers of the FP were in harmony with the other Continental Reformers of the period. Calvin, Pullain, A'Lasco, and the Strasburgians, all followed this course in their practice and in their books of prayer. The ~~footnotes~~<sup>to the</sup> will show the close relation of the FP to Calvin and Pullain.

As for the Strasburg Reformers, not till 1537 did they compose an Order for the Visitation of the Sick, founded in part upon the old mediaeval Order, but also expressing the new attitude.<sup>1.</sup> In making use of their book, Calvin followed the older practice established in Strasburg when he came to be Minister of the French Refugees' Church, and left the procedure in the sick room to the individual Minister's judgement, being content in his La Forme of 1542 &c. with giving only general counsel. So the Reformed tradition began, and has little changed among the children of Calvin to this day, save that in most Presbyterian Books of Order prayers and readings are definitely suggested; but their use and choice is left free.

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1. Cf. HUBERT: op.cit., p. lxxxi. For the Order of 1537, and those following till 1561, cf. the same, pp. 119-127.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

Nothing is said in the FP (in any of its editions), nor in Calvin's La\_Forme concerning the bringing of the Communion to the sick. But Pullain has a brief note commending the practice. He directs as follows: "Quod si aegrotis petat Eucharistiam, Ipso die quo ab Ecclesia celebratur Coena, mittitur vnus ex Ministris cum piis aliquot, qui cum aegrotis communicent." <sup>1.</sup> It is at once evident that here Pullain is not directing that a private celebration be held at the house of the sick person, but is enjoining that the reserved elements be borne to the sick, in accordance with primitive Christian practice. <sup>2.</sup> And while Calvin was prevented from encouraging this practice at Geneva through the iconoclastic opinions prevailing there before his arrival, he did greatly desire that it be not abandonned. We see this from a letter which he wrote to Zulger on 29th August 1558, in which he expressed himself as follows: "That the Communion is not distributed to the sick, also displeases me; and it is not on my account that this consolation has not been accorded to those who are quitting this life. But because a different custom has prevailed, and because a change could not be brought about without great discussion, I have preferred peace..... I should have wished, however, to witness to those who will come after us, what I should have desired." <sup>3</sup> Suffice it to say that the carrying of the Communion to the sick is now a common <sup>though not universal,</sup> custom among Presbyterians throughout the world.

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1. Liturgia sacra, 1554 (Frankfort) here quoted. The other editions agree.

2. Primitive Christian practice is recorded for example in the second century by Justin Martyr, who says that ~~after~~ Communion in the Church [distribution is made to each one of his share of the elements which have been blessed, and to those who are not present it is sent by the ministry of the deacons. (Apol. i, 6.) There is no suggestion at this period of perpetual reservation, but only reservation on the day of celebration: this also was Pullain's practice and Calvin's desire.

3. Later, however, he seems to have been less eager for it, v. Calv. opera. X. i. 213-214.



# THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

BECAUSE the visitation of the sicke, is a thyng verie neces-  
sarie, and yet notwithstanding,  
it is hard to prescribe all rules  
appertaynyng therunto, we refer it  
to the discretion of the godlie  
and prudent minister, who accor-  
dinge as he seethe the pacient  
affected, either may lift hym vp  
with the swete promesses of godes  
mercy through Christe, if he per-  
ceiue hym moche affrayde of godes  
thretenynges, or cōtrariewise, if  
he be not towched with the felling  
of his synnes, may beate hym downe  
with godes iustice.

More like a skilfull phisition,  
framyng his medicine accordyng as  
the disease requireth,

and if he perceyue hym to wante any  
necessaries,

he not onelie releueth hym accord-  
yng to his abilitie, but also pro-  
uideth by others that he may be fur-  
nished sufficiently. Moreover the  
the partie that is visited, may at  
all tymes for his comforte, send for  
the minister:

who dothe not onelie make prayers  
for hym there presentlie, but also  
if it so requyre commendeth hym in  
the publike prayers to the congre-  
gation.<sup>1.</sup>

DE inuisendis aegrotis, etsi  
res valde inuita necessaria sit,  
quoniam tamen nihil de ea in  
vniuersum praescribi poterit:  
hanc officii partem  
Ministri prudentis arbitrio  
relinquimus, qui sumpto melius ex  
tempore consilio, pro re nata,  
proque captu ac affectione aegrotantis,  
vel laetas illi ex Evangelica scriptura  
promissiones, tanquam mellifluum gratis-  
simi saporis pharmacum, delinieandis  
animi vlceribus accommodare poterit:  
vel si nondum delectum satis, at paulo  
confidentiorum persentiat, diuersam  
medendi viam ingrediatur, producens  
è Diuina lege comminationes, asperiores  
quidem illas, at magis tamen hoc in loco  
tempestiuas, ad reprimendum ferocientis  
animi tumorem, donec ad iustam humili-  
tatem ac notitiam sui subsidat: non secus  
ac periti solent medici è myretheciis  
non vnam quampiam panaceam pro singulis  
morbis affere, sed pro singulorum diuer-  
sitate aliud, aliudque *Μετ' ἑξ ἑταίρων*  
pro ingenio receptaque affecti corporis  
depromunt. Praeterea si qua ope corpor-  
ali egere infirmus videbitur, Minister  
non animo solum, sed & corpore tenus  
praestabit medicum: vel ipse subueniens,  
si possit, aut si nequeat ipse, ab aliis  
vndecunque corrogatam egeno opem adcurans.  
Postremo  
liberum aegroto fuerit quocunque velit  
tempore cōsilio auxiliū expetendi causa  
accersere ad se ministrum, qui vtrique  
expositus omnibus, aegrote non solum  
suis adesse precibus meminerit, sed &  
publicis, si opus sit, ecclesiae pre-  
cibus hominem commendabit.

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1. While there is no verbal dependence on Calvin, Pullain, or Huycke, the above is closely related to the last part of the directions in both PULLAIN and HUYCKE, who in their turn xxx are a slight amplification of CALVIN. I quote them below.

HUYCKE is as follows: ... "Moreover, if he shall see by the vehemency of the disease, or otherwyse, that they be in daunger of death, it shalbe fytt to vse so moche the more lyuely and comfortable consolacions, hauyng also con- syderaeyon of the parties mynde how it is enclined, and to what affectiōns



# THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

Note continued from preceding page.

it is moste subject: that is to say, if he shal se them timeurous or fearefull, and to tremble at the remembrance of deathe, and thereby lothe to dye: there he ought to haue a readynesse to vtter, that there is no occasion to discomforte in deathe vnto the faythfull, whiche bee sure to haue Jesus Christ theyr patrone, theyr defender, and also theyr guyde, who will conducte and leade all suche as putte theyr truste in hym, by deathe into ioyous lyfe, whereinto he is hymselfe alreadye entred: that by these and lyke declaracyons the feare and tremblyng that they haue conceyued at Goddes iudgemente, maye bee taken from them. And contrarywyse, if he shall perceyue anye not sufficientlye humbled neyther to haue sufficient remorse of conscience (that is to say) which doth not sufficientlye entre into them selues, wherby they maye worthely detest and abhorre theyr sinnes: it shalbe fytt to rehearse vnto such the threatnynges agaynst sinne, and to set out the righteouse iustice of God, before whom no man is able to stāde cleare or vngyltie, excepte he lean to his meroy only, taking Iesu Christ for his ful healthe and sauēgarde. Consydering agayn, so soone as theyr conscience shalbe perceiued to be burthened & iustlye troubled with the feeling of theyr sinnes, y he then incontinentlye remembre to declare the benefytes and merites of Christes passion, to set out most effectually and liuely howe all miserable synners, whiche being oppressed with the burthen of theyr grievous and detestable sinnes, feele nothyng but dystrust and desperation in themselves, may bee most bolde to come to Christ, beyng assured to fynde perfecte quietnes and refreshmente as in a moste ioyous and comfortable refuge. So then the part of a good and faithful minister is to conside what waye shall be best for hym to vse toward the sycke & afflicted afflyeted, touchyng the maner of comforting or exhorting them, according as he shal perceiue theyr myndes affeccioned or dysposed: all the whiche thyngs oughte to bee doone by the woordes of God. And moreouer if the ministre haue any thyng wherwith he may comforte or refreshe bodely such as be both poore and sycke, he oughte in no wyse to spare it or keue it from them, but to shewe hymselfe vnto al mē a perfecte example to other to deale charitably."

PULLAIN's version runs thus: "...Quod si cum periculo etiam aegrotare conspexerit, tum consolando longius progredietur, orationem semper ad aegri mores, fidem, et pietatem accomodans, ut ut affectum viderit. Etiam si sentiat mortem horrore esse, huc coniculus dirigit, ut hanc hostis impressionem auertat: infirmumque docebit, in morte nihil triste aut deplorandum contingere fidelibus, quibus est Christus viae ductor, ac certissimus adiutor et defensor, quo ductore non aliud quidquam sit mors, quam transitus ad vitam eandem, quam ipse est ingressus. Huiusmodi consolationum argumentis horrorem illum discutiet. Et ubi senserit conscientias ob iudicium Dei terribas, statim huc admonet omnia auxilia ad fulciendum animum aduersus tantum impetum. Si paruo, aut leni sensu peccatorum affici senserit, non dissimulabit iudicium Dei, in quo numquam possit subsistere, nisi per misericordiam Dei, cuius tamen haudquaquam esse participes queat, nisi poenitentia seria excitatus, fide solida Jesum Christum tote pectore atque ambabus vultibus amplexatus, hunc unum saluatorem et liberatorem agnoscat. Contra si viderit sensu peccatorem augi, iam ostendat, ac ob oculos ponat peccatoribus omnibus quantumcunque miseris (modo de se desperent non autem de Christo) certissimum est praesidium, et salus praesentissima. Bonus itaque Pastor rationem inibit, quae optima maximēque idonea videbitur consolando aegro, utcumque tandem affectum viderit. Neque quicquam adferet, nisi verbum Dei. Et si res suppetet, atque infirmus erit ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ pauper, ipse eleemosynam aliquam dabit, aut aliunde curabit, quo succuratur etiam corporis necessitatibus. Nullo enim labori debet parcere, nullum officium detractare, quo sit omnibus exemplo." (MTH 1554, Frankfurt edn.)

It is evident that both of these above must have been before the compilers of the EP, for matter is drawn from both, although the difference between Huyeke and Pullain is very slight.

CALVIN (1542) is the source of both, but does not contain so much matter. Calvin is as follows: "...D'avantage, s'il les voit en maladie dangereuse, de leur donner consolation, qui passe encores oultre, et ce selon qu'il les verra touchez en leur affection: c'est assavoir, s'il les connoist estre espouvantez de l'horreur de la mort, de leur remonstres, qu'en icelle il n'y a nulle matiere de desolation aux fideles, lesquels ont Iesus Christ leur ducteur et protecteur, qui par icelle les conduira à la vie, en laquelle il est entré. Et par semblables remonstrances leur oster ceste crainte et terreur, qu'ilz ont du Iugement de Dieu. S'il ne les voit point assez abatus de la conscience de leurs pechez, leur declairer quelle est la iustice de Dieu, devant laquelle ilz ne peuvent consister; sinon par sa misericorde, embrassans Iesus Christ pour leur salut. Au contraire, les voyant affligez en leurs consciences, et troublez de leurs offenses, qu'il leur monstre et represente Iesus Christ au vif, et comment en luy tous pauvres pecheurs, qui se deffians d'eulxmesmes se reposent en sa bonté, trouvent soulagement et refuge. Donc un bon et fidele Ministre aura à considerer le moyen, qu'il sera bon de prendre, pour consoler les patiens et affligez, selon l'affection qu'il verra en eulx, et le tout par la parolle de nostre Seigneur. Et mesme, si le Ministre a quelque chose, dequoy il puisse aussi consoler et aider corporellement les pauvres affliger, il n'y espargnera rien, monstrant à tous vray exemple de charité."



CONCERNING THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

OF EVRIALL.

DE SEPVLTVRA.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ORDER OF BURIAL

The procedure of burial was influenced by the extremes of superstition which had prevailed in the old Church, with the result that in the early Reformed Church in many cases no service whatever was held at the grave.

This seems to have been the case in Strasburg at least till 1533, when the first Strasburg Synod protested against the extreme of the custom, citing the case of the OT Patriarchs and the early Christians as against the usage. Then burial had been conducted with honour, <sup>they said,</sup> "aber bei uns", they protest, "nachdem die abergläubische Totenpracht abgestellt ist, wird nun schier viehisch mit vielen Abgestorbenen umgegangen". Later also Marbach in his Order wrote: "...sollen die Christen ihre abgestorbenen Mitglieder nicht als verstorbene Bestien unachtsam hinschlenkern, sonder als Erben des Himmelreichs ehrlich und ordentlich.." <sup>1.</sup> In 1537 an Order for Burial was drawn

up and used. <sup>2.</sup>

Pullain also used prayers at the grave, with readings and a short address, but it is doubtful whether Calvin did, in Geneva at least. The FP followed the more conservative trend of the day, and prohibited prayers &c. at the grave, <sup>3</sup> but permitted a short service in the church afterwards, if convenient. This custom was continued among the more extreme Puritans in England, and was general also in Scotland in the early days of the Reformation. <sup>4.</sup>  
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1. ~~W.~~ HUBERT: op. cit., p. lxxxiii.

2. Do. pp 128-130.

3. SPROTT, however, citing Wodrow, did not so understand the FP or RCO. He held the rubric to imply that a service or exhortation might be held at the graveside if the Church were not near. Cf. Wor. & Off. pp. 163-164.

4. Cf. footnotes on page following.



THE ORDER FOR ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

THE ORDER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.  
DE DISCIPLINA SEV ANIMADVERSIONE ECCLESIASTICA.

# CONCERNING THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

## OF BURIALL.

THE corps is reuerently brought to the graue accompanied with the congregation,

with owte any further ceremonies,

which beyng buried,

the minister goeth to the church,

if it be not farre of,

and maketh some comfortable exhorta-

cion to the people, towchyng deathe,

and resurrection.<sup>1</sup>

## DE SEPULTURA.

Funus ad sepulturam honestè ac

decorè effertur, non sine idoneo

ac frequèti congregationis comi-

tatu: sic tamen, vt quaminimum

interim ceremoniarum adhibeatur.

Corpore autem terrae reddito, ac

toto confecto negotio,

minister cum populo ad templum re-

uertitur:

vbi brevis aliqua concio apud plebem

de morte ac resurrectione, quae

maximè inhortandis consolandisque

auditoribus inseruiat, instituitur.

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1. While CALVIN in his note "Concerning Burial" in the Proj. d'ordonn. (Opera X., i., 27) ordains ~~that~~ as follows: "Quon ensepvelisse honestement les mortz au lieu ordonné. De la suite et compaignye nous la laissons à la discretion dun chascun. Il sera bon que les porteurs ayent serment à nous, dempescher toutes superstitions contraire à la parole de dieu..." it is doubtful whether his service was so severe as this demanded in the FP. PULLAIN perhaps more nearly approaches the Calvinistic practice: "Funus effertur a certis hominibus extra urbem in coemiterium. Sequuntur proximi ac tota Ecclesia magna cum modestia, praecunte Pastore, vel aliquo ministro. Vbi ad locum ventum est, condito humi cadauere, habetur brevis concio de morte ac resurrectione mortuorum, cum commendatione defuncti, si quas habuerit virtutes, quarum exemplis possit Ecclesia aedificari. Tum facta oratione pro Ecclesia, vt Deus det sic vitam hanc transigere, vt per mortem transeamus in regnum ipsius, ac tandem in ultimo die per Christum omnes resurgamus ad beatam immortalitatem, dimittitur populus cum admonitione, vt eleemosynam aliquam conferat in vsus pauperum." (1554, Lit. sac.)

On the other hand, the Westminster Directory continued faithful to the extremes of the FP, for there it is ordained that "When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, vpon the day of Buriall, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for publique Buriall, and there immediately interred, without any Ceremony. And because the customes of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead Corps, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to Buriall, are superstitious: and for that, praying, reading, both in going to, and at the Graue, haue been grossly abused, are no way beneficiall to the dead, and haue proued many wayes hurtfull to the liuing, therefore let all such things be laid aside."

The RCO of Scotland, in its various editions, did not even require the Minister to be present at the Burial; this is demonstrated by the fact that in the above rubric the words "if he be present, and required" when it was incorporated into the RCO.

The First Book of Discipline, agreed with the RCO and FP, but permitted on occasion deviation from the strict rule, as is seen from the following paragraph from the earliest edition: "And yit, nochtwithstanding, we are not so precise, but that we ar content that particuler Kirkis use thame (i.e., prayers, reading, and singing) in that behalf, wyth the consent of the Ministerie of the same, as thei will answer to God, and Assemblie of the Vniuersall Kirk gathered within the Realme." (Cf. LAING: KW, ii., pp. 249-251). SPROTT quotes instances where this permission was utilized by anti-prelatists, and by Knox himself (RCO, p. xlv.). In another place he asserts also that "there was a revival of funeral services and sermons before 1687, but the Covenant proved fatal to them." (Wor. & Offices, p. 165). (In remarks at Memorial v. Calderwood 441 (ii. 142))

Burial in the Church was not practised in Geneva, nor was it permitted by the First Book of Discipline, which ordained that burial be made in "some other secret and convenient place, lying in the most free air, ... the whiche place ought to be weill walled and fensed about, and keaped for that use onlie." (LAING: KW, ii., 251) The Assembly in 1576 also ordained that burial should not be made within the church (PETERKIN: Rk. of the Univ. Kirk, p. 160). This rule also was departed from on occasion; e.g., when the "Good Regent" was buried in the "South ile" of St. Giles (CALDERWOOD: Hist. ii. 525); of also SPROTT: Westminster Directory, RCO, p. xlv.



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## INTRODUCTION TO THE SECTION ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

The section "Of Discipline" in the FP, 1556, is verbally, as far as can be determined, the compilers' own, though in matter and content it is closely related to the short section in Pullain's Lit. sac. 1554, which in turn is derived in a condensed form from Calvin.<sup>1.</sup>

What was set down in the FP to meet the needs of a small congregation of exiles would naturally require to be enlarged and developed if it were to be used by Churches comprising a number of congregations. Accordingly, we find such an enlargement in the Middleburg edition of 1586<sup>2.</sup> for use in England; and an elaborate development (founded also on A'Lasco's Forma ac ratio,<sup>3.</sup> 1555) of it in the first Book of Discipline in Scotland in 1560.<sup>4.</sup> Also in 1567, we have an 'Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance'<sup>5.</sup> drawn up by Knox at the request of the General Assembly, revised by that body in 1568, and printed by Lekprevik at Edinburgh in 1569, finding a place in the succeeding editions of the BCO. Obviously, among the Puritans in England, and also in Scotland<sup>6.</sup> this was a logical and natural development from the FP.

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1. Calvin's section on Discipline is to be found in his Opera I., 10-11.

2. Reprinted in HALL: Rel. Lit., i. 101-105.

3. Readily accessible in KUYPER: Works of A'Lasco. Cf. vol. ii. for his liturgy &c. His original editions of 1555, 6, are also in the R.M. His Discipline was in germ founded on Pullain's, with whom he was associated in Frankfort during the time of Mary of England, when his 1555 forma ac ratio was published.

4. LAING: KW, ii., 227-233.

5. Reprinted by SPROTT in his RCO, pp. 55-72.

6. Sprott in his RCO (pp. xlix-1) and in his Wor. & Off. (pp. 221-228) deals with the principles and practice of discipline in the Church of Scotland.

## THE ORDER FOR ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

## THE ORDER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

AS no Citie, Towne, howse, or familie can maynteine their estate and prosper, without policie and gouernance: euen so the church of God, which requireth more purely to be gouerned, then any Citie or familie, cannot without spirituall policie and ecclesiasticall discipline continewe, encrease, and florish. And as the word of God is the life and soule of this church: so this godlie ordre, and discipline is as it were synewes in the bodie, which knit and ioyne the membres together with decent order and comelines.

It is a brydle to staye the wicked from their myschiefes. It is a spurre to pricke forward suche as be slowe and negligent, yea and for all men it is the fathers rodde euer in a readines, to chastice gentelye the fautes committed, and to cawse theym afterward, to lyue in more godlie feare, and reuerence. Finallye it is an ordre left by God vnto his church, wherby men learne to frame their wills, and doinges, accordinge to the lawe of God, by instructing, and admonishinge one another yea and by correctinge, and punishinge all obstinate rebells, and contemners of the same. There are thre causes chiefly which moue the church of God to the executinge of discipline. First, that men of euell conuersation, be not nombred amongst Gods childrene, to their fathers reproche, as if the church of God were a sanctuary for naughtie and vyle persons.

## DE DISCIPLINA SEV ANIMADVERSIONE ECCLESIASTICA.

QVVM nulla ciuitas, pagus, aut familia sit, sine certis propriisque legibus bene instituta, minus profectò conuenire videtur, vt Ecclesia Dei, cuius quam purissima esse administratio debet,

nulla graui ac constanti morum disciplina contineatur.

Siquidē vt

Verbū Dei vita veluti est, & anima Ecclesiae suae: ita iura haec ac leges exercendae disciplinae in republica Christiana, nerui quasi quidam sunt, quibus seu compagibus totius corporis membra in officio vitae, ac morum rectitudine aptissima quadam concinnitate succrescāt ac retineantur.

Improbos enim à maleficio deterret, ac quasi fraeno cohibet: ignaros autem & torpentes non secus quam admoto calcari incitat: omnibus denique paterna ferula est, qua & filios quos amat, leniter castiget, & ab errato reuocatos citius ad meliorem frugem perducatur.

facultas quaedam est, Ecclesiae Diuinitus concessa, qua voluntas nostra ac actiones ad Diuinae se Legis obsequium accommodent: id autem partim fit doctrina & hortatione;

partim verò correctione ac poenis in eos constitutis, qui contumacius se praeter officium gerunt. Hanc autem disciplinam cur in Ecclesiam retinendam statuimus, tres potissimum causae suadent. Primum ne qua infamiae nota Ecclesia aspergatur,

hoc nomine, quòd asylū quasi quoddam fouendis improbos subministrare videatur.

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## THE ORDER FOR ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

The second respect is, that the good be not infected with compaigninge the euell,

which thinge, S. Paule foresawe when he commaunded the Corinthians to banish frome amongest theym the incestuous adultether, saige, a litle leuyn maketh sowre the whole lump of dowe.

The third cawse is, that a man thus corrected, or excommunicated, might be ashamed of his faut, and so through repentance come to amendement:

the which thinge the Apostole calleth deliueringe to Satan, that his soule may be saued in the day of the lord: meaning that he might be ponished with excommunication, to the intent his soule shuld not perishe for euer.

First therefore it is to be noted that this censure, correction or discipline is either priuate or publike: priuate, as if a man committ either in maners or doctrine against thee,

to admonishe hym brotherly betwixt him and thee: if perchaunce he stubbornely resist thy charitable aduertisementes, or els by contynuanee in his faut declare that he amendeth not, then, after he hath bene the second tyme warned in presence of two or three witnesses, and continueth obstinately in his error, he ought as our sauior Christ commaundeth, to be disclosed and vttered to the church, so that accordinge to publike discipline, he either may be receyued through repentance, or els be ponished as his faut requireth.

And here, as towchinge priuate discipline thre thinges are to be noted.

First, that our admonitions procede

Deinde ne malorum consuetudo, bene institutis moribus, scabiẽ fortasse contagionis aliquam affricet.

Quod genus mali diligentẽ à Paulo animaduersum, ea ad Corinthios admonitio egregiẽ comprobat, quae praecipit, vt incestum illum è suo consortio eiicerẽt, cum intelligant, exiguò fermento totam massam imbui.

Postremò vt salutari hac seueritate mansuãfacti effrenes animi, in ordinem redigãtur, atque ad melioris vitae correctionẽ resanescant.

Id autem illud est quod Apostolus satanae tradere dixit, vt anima esset salua in die Domini, hoc est, vt excommunicatione mulctatus, animus liberetur ab aeterno exitio.

Haec institutio atque disciplina, non vno semper modo fit: nam aut priuata esse potest, aut publica.

Si enim ad tuam cognitionem res tantum peruenit, adeò vt te solùm aliquis vel vitae exemplo, vel doctrina sua laeserit, diligentem operam nauare oportet, vt fratrem primò seorsim admoneas. Quòd si fortassis aut salutariter consulenti non ascultet, aut moribus in melius non mutatis emendationem minimè praestet, adhibe tecum vnũ aut alterũ,

vt si adhuc ipsorum cohortationes repudiare pergat, iuxta Christi praeceptum Ecclesiae indicetur,

ita vt vel errati confessione in gratiam recipiatur, vel pro criminis atrocitate supplicio afficiatur.

Hic autem tria circumspectianda diligenter praestandaque sunt.

Vnum, ne quid ex praecipiti animi impetu

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THE ORDER FOR ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

of a godly zeale, and conscience,  
rather sekinge to wynne our bro-  
ther, then to slaunder him.

Next,

that we be assured that his faut  
be reprobable by gods woord.

And finally,

that we vse such modestie and wis-  
dome, that if we somewhat dout of  
the matter whereof we admonishe  
hym, yet with godly exhortatiōs, he  
may be brought to the knowlage of  
his faut. Or if the faut apper-  
teyne to many, or be known of  
diuers,

that one admonition be done in  
the presence of some of theym.

Brefly, if it concerne the whole  
churche, in suche sorte that the

concelinge therof might procure some  
daunger to the same, that then it  
be vttered to the ministers, and  
seniors, to whome the policie, of  
the church doth appertaine.

Also in publike discipline, it is  
to be obserued that the Ministerie  
pretermit nothinge at any tyme vn-  
chastised with one kind of ponishe-  
ment or other: if they perceyue  
any thinge in the Congregation, ei-  
ther euill in example, slaunderous  
in maners, or not besemyng their  
profession: as if there be any co-  
uetous persone, any adulterer or  
fornicator, forsworne, thief, bri-  
ber, false witnes bearer, blasphe-  
mer, dronkarde slaunderer, vsurer,  
any person disobedient, seditious,  
or dissolute, any heresie, or  
sect, as papisticall,  
anabaptisticall, and suche lyke,  
briefly what so euer it be that  
might spott the christian congre-

gation, yea rather what so euer is  
\*\*\*\*\*

geratur, sed contra, studio quodam in er-  
rantem fratrem ac amore, tanquam hi, qui  
omnibus quidem prodesse, obesse autem  
neminis cupiunt. Secundum vero est,

vti persuasum habeamus, crimen illud  
eiusmodi esse, quod merito verbum Dei  
redarguat ac damnet. Tertium denique,  
vt ea modestia solertiisque adhibita,  
rem pertentemus, vt <sup>si</sup> non satis explorata  
sit, nostra tamen opera, consilio ac se-  
dula adhortatione hominem ad erroris  
agnitionem pertrahamus.

Sin vero criminis cognitio plures com-  
plectatur, vnum aut alterum adhibere  
oportebit, qui illius re conscii sunt,  
vt & maiori cum sua vtilitate, & minori  
etiam cum aliorum offensione corrigatur.  
Quod si denique res ad Ecclesiae ipsius  
damnum vergat,

vt ex illius reticentia in graue aliquod  
periculum deueniat: tum vero conuenit  
Ministris ac Senioribus, quibus Ecclesiae  
gubernacula commissa sunt, culpam detegere.

Publica rursus disciplina suas vicissim  
cautiones habet: imprimis autem, nequid  
vsquam praetereant ductores gregis, non  
aliquo animaduersionis genere castigatum,  
siquid videant in multitudine, vel  
exemplo noxium, vel moribus infame,  
vel professione indignum.

Siquis vel <sup>aut periculosus,</sup>  
auarus, vel adulter, latro, donis  
corruptus, tenuiorum oppressor, pros-  
titutae fidei testis, blasphemus,  
ebriosus, obrectator, foenerator,  
immoriger, seditiosus,  
impudicus: si qua haeresis periculosa, aut  
contentio seditiosa, vtpote Papistica,  
Anabaptistica, seu Libertinorum:  
quicquid denique sit quod Christianae  
Ecclesiae labem contrahat,

imò quicquid ad aliorum vtilitatem &  
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## THE ORDER FOR ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

not to edification, ought not to escape either admonition, or punishment. And because it happeneth sometime in the church of Christ, that when other remedies ~~advised~~ profitt nothinge they must procede to the Apostolicall rodd and correction, as vnto excommunication (which is the greatest and last punishment belonging to the spirituall ministerie)

it is ordeyned, that nothinge be attempted in that behalf, without the determination of the whole church, wherein also they must be ware, and take good heede, that they seem not more readie to expell from the congregation then to receyue againe those, in whome they perceyue worthie frutes of repentance to appeare. Neither yet to forbyd hym the hearinge of sermons, which is excluded from the sacraments, and other duties of the church, that he may haue libertie, and occasion to repent. Finally, that all punishments, corrections, censures, and admonitions, stretch no farther, then Gods woorde, with mercie, may lawfully beare.

aedificationem non faciat, Ecclesiae ticae animaduersionis censure minime praeterire conuenit. Porro non nunquam vsu venire possit, cum ulterius adhuc progrediendum sit, ad virgam illam Apostolicam, ad ipsam usque excommunicationis electionem, quae ultimum quidem supplicium Ecclesiasticae potestatis solet esse. Eaue locum videtur habere, ubi caetera saepe tentate remedia nihil proficiunt. Caeterum & huius potestatis tractatio, itidem ut aliarum ferme rerum usus, animaduersiones suas habet peculiare. Videndum est enim principio, ut dixi, nequid hic ex precipiti saeuitia, aut impetu affectuum geratur. Tum, ne non adhibito Congregationis consensu, expulsiōne quēquam feriant. Praeterea,

ne accliuiores sint ad eliminandum, quam recipiendum, si modo dignos poenitentiae fructus emicare persentiant. Postremo, etsi à Sacramentis, caeterisque Ecclesiae muniis quispiam prohibetur, concionibus nequaquam tamen interdiciendus est, quo locus & facultas resipiscendi relinquatur.

Itaque omnia tum denuò optimè fient, si extra verbi Dei limites in admonendo corrigendū non excurramus:

sed omnes nostras actiones ad eam quasi Cynosuram intentas, humanitatis quodam affectu condiamus.

(The end of the Discipline)

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1. PULLAIN's short section of Discipline bears a slight similarity to the above section, and may be quoted here since it is not readily accessible. He writes as follows (Lit. sac. 1554): Porro quantum ad vitam corporis est necessarius spiritus et halitus, quo represso necesse est statim hominem exlinguere, ita est usus disciplinae et fraternae correctionis in Ecclesia: quam ipsi serio exercent in omnes rebelles et praefractae perniciaciae viros seu mulieres, qui admoniti resipiscere ac poenitentiam vitae prioris agere recusant. In publicis locis criminibus statim publica poenitentia exigeretur, aut excommunicaretur pertinax. In occultis autem, principio clam et priuatum, deinde adhibitis testibus ac tandem in concilio Seniorum admenetur. Post ubi nil profici vident, Pastor scelus et hominem Ecclesiae palam facit, ut vel hac ratione quarto die Dominico excommunicatur et sacris omnibus illi interdicitur, nempe sacramentis et precibus. His enim temporibus iubetur ab Ecclesia secedere. A concionibus nunquam arceatur. Imò nunquam desunt qui priuatim agant et ad

*It is probably a translation of part of Calvin's v. Opera X. 10-11.*

MATTH. XV.

They worship me in vayne teachinge doctrine, which is mens traditions.

Come forth of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her synnes,  
nor receyue of her plagues, for her synnes are gone vp to  
heauen, and God hath remembred  
her wickednes.  
Reuel. 18.

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Note continued from preceding page.

poenitentiam hortentur. Cuius si signa certa dederit, tunc conuocata Ecclesia, iubetur culpam criminis agnoscere, ac deinde consensu vniuersae Ecclesiae ad precum et sacramentorum communionem admittitur. Verum de hac disciplina nos plura propediem adiuuante Christo. Itaque haec missa faciemus." He concludes the section by adding that no one can become a member of his church unless he has made public profession of his faith, that children cannot be baptised unless one of the parents is a member of the church, and that the Blessing upon Marriage cannot be granted unless the couple have first made public profession of their faith. On these matters the FP is silent, but likely in practice it was one with the Lit. sac.



TITLE-PAGE OF THE PSALMS

TITLE-PAGE OF THE PSALMS

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ONE AND FIFTIE PSALMES  
OF DAVID IN ENGLISH metre,<sup>1</sup> wherof. 37.  
were made by Thomas Sterneholder: and the rest  
by others. Conferred with the hebrewe, and  
in certeyn places corrected as the text, and  
sens of the Prophete required.

(DEVICE: the letter "Y"  
with a robed and bearded  
figure, holding a rod  
pointing to a narrow up-  
per branch; and a scroll  
inscribed, "INTRATE PER  
ARCTAM VIAM".)

I am. 5.

Yf any be afflicted let him pray, and if  
any be merve, let him singe Psalmes.

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1. The text of the Psalms in metre in the original edition, with the tunes (air only), occupy 160 pages. As is indicated on the above title-page, there are only 51 Psalms in the first edition; this number was gradually increased in the later editions (cf. COWAN: Ribliog. of RCO for the details).

With regard to the Psalms chosen in the first edition (and in the later ones also), there does not appear to have been any liturgical reason for the choice which was made. The 51 Psalms are as follows: 1-17, 19-21, 23, 25, 28-30, 32-34, 41-44, 49, 51, 52, 63, 68, 73, 78, 79, 82, 103, 114, 115, 120, 123, 128, 130, 133, 137, 146, and also the paraphrase in metre of the Decalogue, "Attende my people & giue ear." Of these, numbers 30, 33, 42, 52, 79, 82, and 146, bear the initials, I.H., that is, John Hopkins; and numbers, 23, 51, 114, 115, 130, 133, 137, and the Decalogue (Translated from the French, "Leue le coeur" — the first lines of which have been frequently mistaken by many authorities for the Sursum corda!), while anonymous, are the work of William Whittingham, as we know from the subsequent and enlarged edition of "Four score and seuen Psalmes of Daud", 1561. The remaining thirty-seven Psalms were cast into metre by Thomas Sternholde, who was Groom of the Robes to Edward VI (d. 1549), though, as is stated above, the compilers of the FP did not hesitate to change words and lines, if by so doing they could make the metrical text more faithful to the original Hebrew. This redaction was likely mainly done by Whittingham.

It is to be noted that the 119th Psalm, which was used at this time by Pullain at Strasburg and by Calvin at Geneva in the afternoon Catechetical Exercise, is here omitted. Later, however, it was included, and was used at the Afternoon Service in Scotland.

in the Preface to the  
former edition (v. LAING: KW in 165),  
of this thesis



CATECHISM AND PRIVATE PRAYERS

Title-page of the Catechism

Morninge prayer.

A prayer to be sayd before meales.

A Thankes geuinge after meales.

Euenynge prayers.

A prayer made at the first assemble of  
the congregation, when the confessio  
of our faith, and whole orders of  
the church was there red, and approued.

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TITLE-PAGE OF THE THIRD SECTION

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T H E C A T E C H I S M E <sup>1.</sup> O R M A N N E R  
to teache children the Christian religion,  
wherin the Minister demandeth the question,  
and the childe maketh answers. Made by the  
excellent Dootor and Pastor in Christes Church,  
Iohn Caluin.

(DEVICE: As in the title-  
page of the Psalms)

E p h e . II.

The doctrine of the Apostells and Prophetes  
is the fondation of Christes Church.

B Y I O H N C R E S P I N  
M. D. LVI.

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1. This section is composed of Calvin's Catechism, rendered into English (Kuyper's translation) (██████████); it is not reprinted in this thesis. The original French is to be found in Calvin's Opera, VI. 9-134. In this section are also found certain "Private Prayers", which are reprinted, and as far as possible their sources shown. The Catechism occupies 155 pages in the edition of 1556; and the Private Prayers are contained in pages 156-167 of the same edition.



INTRODUCTION TO THE PRIVATE PRAYERS

## INTRODUCTION TO THE PRIVATE PRAYERS

The Private Prayers are here reprinted rather for the sake of completeness than for anything which they have to teach. They do, however, witness to the fact that from the beginning, following Calvin, private or family prayers were encouraged by the Puritan leaders, and material for that purpose was placed in the hands of the people. In many ways these family prayers which were said daily in the homes combined with the singing of Psalms and Readings from the Scriptures were to the Calvinists what daily Morning and Evening Prayer was to the Anglicans. And the tenacity and faithfulness with which the people clung to this noble tradition is illustrated amply by the fact that in Scotland at least, and also in Presbyterianism in all its branches throughout the world, family prayers daily were the accepted custom in the homes of the people till the dawn of the 20th century, and are even still continued today in many Presbyterian homes. Thus were the homes made "nurseries of noble youth" and fathers endowed with a priestly dignity. The Calvinistic Reformation owes much of its greatness to its having fostered a love and reverence for the family altar.

The prayers in this section are for the most part the work of the compilers themselves, it would appear, with parts of them derived from Calvin's Private Prayers. This the footnotes will show.

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## PRIVATE PRAYERS

A FOWERME OF prayers to be vsed in priuate houses euery morninge, and euenynge.

## Moringe prayer.

ALMIGHTIE God, and most mercifull Father, we do not present our selues here before thy Maiestie trusting in our owne merites or worthynes, but in thy manifold mercies,<sup>1.</sup> which hast promised to heare our prayers and graunt our requestes, which we shall make to thee in the name of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ our lord:<sup>2.</sup> who hath also commaunded vs to as-semble our selues together in his name,<sup>3.</sup> with ful assurance that he wyll not onely be emongest vs, but also be our mediator, <sup>4.</sup> ad aduocate towards thy Maiestie, that we may obteyne all thinges which shall seme expedient to thy blessed wyll, for our necessities.<sup>5.</sup> Therefore we beseeche thee most mercifull father, to tourne thy louynge contenance towardes vs, and impute not vnto vs our manyfold synnes, and offences,<sup>6.</sup> wherby we ius-ly deserue thy wrath and sharpe punishment, but rather receyue vs to thy mercye for Iesus Christes sake, acceptinge his death and passion as a iuste recompence, for all our offences,<sup>7.</sup> in whome onely, thou art pleased and throug whome thou canst not be offended with vs. And seinge that of thy great mercies, we haue quietly passed this night, graunt (o heauenly father) that we may spend and bestowe. this day wholly in thy seruice, so that all our thoghtes, wordes, and deedes, may redounde to the glorie of thy name, and good ensample to all men: who seinge our good workes, may glorifie thee our heauenly father.<sup>8.</sup> And forasmuche as of thy mere beneuolence, and loue, thou haste not onely created vs to thyme\* owne similitude, and lykenes,<sup>9.</sup> but also haste chosen vs to be heyres with thy dere sonne Iesus Christ, of that immortall kingdome which thou preparedst for vs before the begynnyng of the\*world:<sup>10.</sup> we beseeche thee to encrease our faith and knowlage,<sup>11.</sup> and to lighten our hartes with thy holy spirite, that we may in the meane tyme lyue in golyd\*couersation and integritie of lyfe: knowinge that idolaters, adulterers, couetous men, contentious persons, dronkardes, glotons, and suche lyke shall not inherite the kingdome of God.<sup>12.</sup>

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\*Misprint for "thyne". \*This "the" omitted in original, but corrected at the end of volume.  
\*Misprint for "godly", corrected at end of volume.

1. The most of this prayer is the work of the compilers themselves, drawn only from Scripture as indicated. This is from Daniel ix. according to the side references, but it is really drawn from the opening sentence of the PCP prayer of humble access at the Communion.

2. John xvi. 24. 3. Matt. xviii. 20. 4. 1 Tim. ii. 5. 5. 1 Jno. iii. 22.  
6. Psalm xxxii. 2. 7. 1 Jno. ii. 2.

8. This, from "And seinge" to "our heauenly father", is derived from Calvin's Latin translation of his French original. The Latin is: "Deus mi, pater mi et seruator, qui gratia erga me tua effecisti, vt transacta nocte ad hunc diem peruenirem: fac etiam, vt ipsum totum in sanctissimi numinis tui cultu et ueneratione consumam. Nihil omnino aut cogitem, aut dicam, aut faciam, quod eo non tendat, vt tibi obsequar, et voluntati tuae morem geram: quo scilicet actiones omnes meae referantur ad gloriam nominis tui, atque fratrum meorum salutem: dum exemplo me ad te colendum instruatur." Opera VI. 135.

9. Gen. i. 26. 10. Rom. viii. 17; Jam. ii. 5. 11. Luke xvii. 5. 12. Gal. v. 19-21.



## PRIVATE PRAYERS - MORNING

\*Misprint for "an"

(.) And because thou haste commaunded vs to pray one for on\* other, we do not onely make request (o lord) for our selues and theym that thou hast already called to the trew vnderstandinge of thy heauenly wyll, but for all people and nations of the world,<sup>1</sup> who as they knowe by thy wonderfull workes, that thou arte God ouer all: so they may be instructed by thy holy spirite, to beleue in thee their onely sauour<sup>2</sup> and redemer. But forasmuche as they can not beleue except they heare,<sup>3</sup> nor can not heare, but by preaching, and none can preach except they be sent, therefore o lord, rayse vp faithfull distributers of thy mys-teries, who settinge a parte all worldely respectes, may bothe in theyr lyfe and doctrine, onely seke thy gloria. Contrarely confownd Satan, Antechrist,<sup>3</sup> with all hyrelinges and papistes,<sup>4</sup> whome thou hast already cast of into a reprobate sense, that they may not by sectes, schismes, heresies, and errors, disquiet thy lytle flocke. And because, o lord, we be fallen into the latter days, and daungerous tymes, wherin ignor-ance hath gott the vpper hand,<sup>5</sup> and Satan with his ministers seeke by all meanes to quenche the light of thy gospell, we beseche thee to mayntayne thy cause against those raueninge wolues,<sup>6</sup> and strengthen all thy ser-uantcs, whome they kepe in pryson and bondage. Let not thy longe suffer-inge be an occasion either to encrease theyr tyranny or to discourage thy childrene, nether yet let our synnes and wickednes be a hinderance to thy mercies, but with spede (o lord) consider these great miseries:<sup>7</sup> and chieflye, the afflictions of our Contrie, which once florished through thy mercies, and nowe for contempt of thy worde is plagued accor-dinge to thy iudgement.<sup>8</sup> Alas lord mayst thou not be intreated? shall we thus be left in dispayre? shall all the world laugh at our shame for euer?<sup>9</sup> truthe it is lord that we were more than sufficiently warned of this thy vengeance to come, both by thy worde and examples to others. For thy people Israell many tymes by their synnes prouoked thyne anger,<sup>10</sup> and thou ponishedest theym, by thy iust iudgement, yet though theyr synnes were neuer so greuous, if they once returned frome their iniquitie, thou receyuedst theym to mercie.<sup>11</sup> we therefore most wretched synners bewayle our manyfolde synnes, and earnestly repent vs for our former wickednes and vngodly behauyor towards thee, and wheras we can not of our selues purchase thy pardon:<sup>12</sup> yet we humbly beseche thee, for Iesus Christ sake, to shewe thy mercies vpon vs, and restore vs agayne to thy fauour. Graunt vs deare father these our requestes, and all other thinges necessarie for vs and thy whole church, accordinge to thy promes in Iesus Christe: our lorde: In whose name we beseche the as he hath taught vs saing. Our father. &c.<sup>13</sup>

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1. Acts x.28; 1 Tim.ii.4. 2. Rom.x.14-15. 3. Rom.xvi. 20.
4. In edn. of 1561 "papistes" is dropped, but retained again in 1562.
5. 2 Tim.iii.1sq. 6. Matt.vii.15.
7. In edn. 1561 all that follows to "For thy people" is omitted; while in 1562 other words are substituted, and so in the later editions.
8. Matt.xi.20 sq.; Amos viii. 9. Psa.lxxvii.7-9. 10. Ex.xxxii.
11. Isa.xxxviii.1-6. 12. Rom.vii.25; 2 Cor.iii.; Luke xvii.20-25.
13. In Calver's 1558 Manual, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles Creed follows here. Whether this was the practice from the beginning as a curious relic from Maltravers's obsequies, or whether it was brought about by the influence of the Soc. cooperation in Geneva in 1556, cannot be determined.



## PRIVATE PRAYERS - AT MEALS

A prayer to be sayd before meales.

ALL thinges depende vpon thy prouidence (o lord) and receyue at thy handes, due sustenance in tyme conuenient. Thow geuest to theym, and they gather it, thow openest thy hand, and they are satisfiede with all good thinges.

O heauenly father which arte the fountayne and full treasure of all goodnes, we beseche thee to shewe thy mercies vpon vs thy children, and sanctifie these giftes which we receyue of thy mercifull liberalitie, grauntinge vs grace to vse theym, soberlie and purely accordinge to thy blessed will: so that hereby we may acknowledge thē to be the author and gyuer of all good thinges, and aboue all, that we may remembre continually, to seeke the spirituall foode of thy woorde, wherewith our soules may be norished euerlastingly, through our sauour Christ, who is the trewe breade of lyfe, which came downe frome heauen, of whome, who so euer eateth, shall lyue for euer, and raigne with hym in glorie, worlde without ende. So be yt.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This prayer is markedly dependent upon Huycke's version, which is as follows: "ALL thynges dooe depende vpon thy prouidence (good Lorde) and thou geueste them due sustenance in tyme conuenient: whan thou reacheste forth thy benefites vnto the, they are glad to receiue them: and when thou openest thy lyberall hande, they are replenished with all goodnes.

O Merciful lorde in whom is full treasure of al good thynges doe rest: lette it be thy good pleasure to sprede out thy beneficial blessinges vpon vs, thy poore seruautes, and to make holy these giftes whiche we receyue of thy gracious liberalitie, grauntynge vs the grace to vse them soberly and purely, accordyng to thy blessed will: so that herein we may knowlege thee to bee the father & headsprig of al bounte, and aboue all other thynges, that we may haue remembraunce continually to seke the spiritual foode of thy woorde, wherewith our soules may be nourished euerlastinglye, through our sauour Christe, thy onely sonne, our Lorde. So be it."

The Latin version of CALVIN's prayer also appears to have influenced the English, especially at the opening and conclusion of the prayer. It is as follows: "Omnia ad te respiciunt Domine, et tu das illis escam temporis: te illis dante, colligunt: te manum aperiente, omnia implentur abundantia. Psalm. 104.

Domine, penes quem fons est bonorum omnium, et inexhausta scaturigo, benedictionem tuam in nos effunde, nobisque cibum et potum, quae tuae erga nos benignitatis dona sunt, in vsum nostrum sanctifica, vt sobrie, sicuti praecipis, et frugaliter iis vtentes, vescamur pura conscientia. Fac etiam, vt te patrem semper, bonorumque omnium autorem, et agnoscamus vera animi gratitudine, et ore praedicemus: ac sic fruamur corporis alimentis, vt praecipuo tamen cordis affectu aspiremus ad spiritualem doctrinae tuae panem cordis affectu aspiremus ad spiritualem doctrinae tuae panem, quo animae nostrae in spem aeternae vitae pascantur. Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum." (1545)

The original French is somewhat shorter, as follows: "Du Psalme cii. Toutes choses attendent apres toy, Seigneur, et tu leur donnes viande en leur temps.

Quand tu leur donnes, elles la recueillent: et quand tu ouvres ta main, elles sont rassasiées de biens.

Seigneur auquel gist la plenitude de tous biens, vueilles estendre ta benediction sus nous tes povres serviteurs, et nous sanctifier les dons, lesquels nous recevons de ta largesse, afin que nous en puissions user sobrement et purement, selon ta bonne volonté, et par ce moyen te recongnoistre Pere et autheur de toute benignité: cherchant tousiours principalement le pain spirituel de ta Parolle, dont noz ames soyent nourries eternellement, par Iesus Christ, ton Filz, nostre Seigneur, Amen." (1545)

The Latin and the French of all the private prayers will be found in Calvin's Opera VI. 135-143.



## PRIVATE PRAYERS - AT MEALS

A Thankes geuinge after meales.

LET all nations magnifie the lord, let all people reioyce, in prayeing and extolling his great mercies. For his fatherly kindnes is plentifully shewed forth vpon vs, and the trewth of his promesse, endureth for euer.

We render thakes vnto thee (o lord God) for the manifold benefites which we continually receyue at thy bountefull hande, not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feede vs in this present lyfe, geuinge vnto vs all thinges necessarie for the same: but especially because thou hast of thy free mercies fashioned vs a newe, into an assured hope of a farr better lyfe, the which thou hast declared vnto vs by thy holye gospell. Therefore we humbly beseeche thee (o heavenly father) that thou wilt not suffer our affections to be so entangled or rooted in these earthly and corruptible thinges: but that we may alwayes haue our mindes directed to thee on high, continually watching for the comminge of our lord and sauour Christ what tyme he shall appeare for our full, redemption. to whom with thee, and the holie ghost, be all honor, and glorie, for euer and euer. So be it.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Here again the measure of dependence upon HUYCKE is very considerable. His version is as follows: "Let all nacions magnifye the lorde, let all people reioyce in prayeing and extolling his woorthines: for his mercy hath bene plentifully shewed forth towards vs, and the trueth of his worde dooeth neuer fayle. We yelde thankes vnto thee (lorde god) for the manifold benefytes which we continually receiue at thy bountifull hande: not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feede vs in this present transitory lyfe, geuing vs all thynges necessary for the same, but specially also for that thou hast vouchsaued to fashion vs a newe, into an assured hope of a far better lyfe the which thou hast made knowne vnto vs by thy holy gospell: humbly beseeching thy goodnes, that thou wilt not suffer our affections to be so rooted or entangled in these earthly and corruptible thynges: but that we may alwayes haue a farther regarde, and haue oure myndes dyrected continually to the on hygh, duely watching and looking for the cūming of our lorde and sauour Christe, what tyme he shall appeare for our full redemption. So be it."

While the Latin and French appear to have had but little direct influence on the above from the FP, they are sources, and accordingly we quote them.

/Latin/

The Latin (1545) is as follows: "Omnes gentes laudent Dominum, omnes populi canant laudem Deo. Quia multiplicata est super nos misericordia eius, et veritas ipsius manet in aeternum.

Gratias agimus, Deus ac pater, de tot beneficiis, quae nobis assidue pro infinita tua benigne largiris. Primum, quod omnia, quibus ac sustinendam praesentem vitam indigemus, adminicula suppitando, corporis etiam nostri curam te habere demonstras: tum vero praecipue quod in spem melioris vitae, quam nobis sacro tuo evangelio revelasti, non regnare dignatus sis. Teque oramus, ne mentes nostras in corporibus sepultas, curis et cogitationibus terrenis affigi patiaris. Quin potius effice, vt sursum erecti perstemus in expectatione Christi filii tui, donec a cœlo in redemptionem salutemque nostram appareat. Amen."

The French is this following: "Que toutes nations louent le Seigneur, que tous peuples luy chantent louenge: Car sa misericorde est multipliée sur nous, et sa verité demeure éternellement.

Seigneur Dieu, nous te rendons grâces de tous les benefices que nous recevons assiduellement de ta main, de ce qu'il te plaist nous substenir en ceste vie corporelle, nous administrant toutes nos necessitez: et singulierement, de ce qu'il t'a plu nous regerer en l'esperance d'une meilleur vie, laquelle tu nous as revele par ton S.Evangile; te priant qu'il te plaise ne permettre point que nos affections soyent icy enracinees en ces choses corruptibles, mais que nous regardions tousiours plus haut, attendans nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ, iusqu'a ce qu'il apparaisse en nostre redemption. Amen.



## PRIVATE PRAYERS - EVENING

## Euenynge prayers.

O LORD God father euerlastinge and full of pitie, we acknowledge and confesse, that we be not worthie to lyft vp our eies to heauen,<sup>1.</sup> muche lesse to present our selues before thy Maiestie with confidence that thou wilt heare our prayers and graunt our requestes, if we consider our owne deservinges: for our consciences do accuse vs, and our synnes witness against vs, and we knowe that thou arte a vpright iudge, which doest not iustifie the sinners and wicked me, but ponishes the fautes of all suche as transgresse thy commaundementes.<sup>2.</sup> Yet moste mercifull father, since it hath pleased thee to commaunde vs to call on thee in all our troubles and aduersities,<sup>3.</sup> promesinge euen then to help vs, when we fele our selues as it were, swallowed vp of death and desperation,<sup>4.</sup> we vtterly renounce all worldely confidence, and flee to thy soueraigne bountie, as our onely stay and refuge: beseeching thee not to call to remembrance our manifold synnes, and wickednes,<sup>5.</sup> wherby we continually prouoke thy wrath and indignation against vs: neither our negligence and vnkindnes, which haue neither worthely esteemed, nor in our lyues sufficiently expressed, the swete comfort of thy gospell reueled vnto vs: but rather to accept the obedience and death of thy sonne Iesus Christ, who by offeringe vp his bodie in sacrifice once for all,<sup>6.</sup> hath made a sufficient recompence for all our synnes. Haue mercie therefor vpon vs o lord, and forgiue vs our offences.<sup>7.</sup> Teache vs by thy holie spirite, that we may rightlye waye theym, and earnestly repent for the same. And so muche the rather o lord, because that the reprobate and suche as thou hast forsake,<sup>8.</sup> can not prayse thee, nor call vpon thy name, but the repētinge harte, the sorrowfull minde, the consciēce oppressed,<sup>9.</sup> hungringe, and thirstinge for thy grace, shall euer sett forthe thy prayse and glorie.<sup>10.</sup> And albeit we be but wormes and dust:<sup>15.</sup> yet thou arte our creator, and we be the worke of thy handes, yea thou arte our father, and we thy children: thou arte our shepherde and we thy flocke: thou arte our God and we thyn enheritance. Correcte vs not therfote\* in thyne anger<sup>12.</sup> (o lord) neither accordinge to our desertes pōnshē vs, but mercifully chastice vs with a fatherly affectiō, that all the world may knowe, that at what tyme so euer a synner doth repent hym of his synne from the bottome of his hart,<sup>13.</sup> thou wilt put away his wickednes owt of thy remembrance, as thou haste promised by thy holy Prophete.<sup>14.</sup> (.) (Marg. note: "(.) This marke directeth vs to that part of the morninge prayer that is for thincrase of the gospel, which also may be sayd here as tyme serueth.")

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\*Misprint for "therefore"

1. Luke xv. 21; xviii. 13.    2. Exod. xx. 5.    3. Psal. l. 15.    4. Psal. xviii. 4-5.  
 5. Psal. lxxix. 3.    6. Heb. ix & x.    7. Psal. xix. 13.    8. Psal. lviii. 3.  
 9. Psal. v. 12.    10. Psal. cvii. 1.    12. Psal. vi. 1; Jer. x. 10.    11. 2 Cor. vi. 18.  
 15. Psal. xxii. 6.    13. Ezek. xviii. 24.

14. The prayer thus far seems as far as can be determined to be entirely a product of the compilers, drawn from Scripture as above marginal notes from the MS suggest. It is quite unrelated to Calvin save in doctrine, and there it reflects the extremes of the period; the period for example, which gave us "miserable offenders" and "the burden of them is intolerable" in the RCP.

## PRIVATE PRAYERS - EVENING

Finally forasmuche as it hath pleased thee to make the night for man to rest in, as thou haste ordeyned hym the day to<sup>1</sup>trauell, graunt o<sup>d</sup>deare father, that we may so take our bodely rest, that our soules may continually watche for the tyme that our lord Iesus Christe shall appeare for our deliuerance owte of this mortall lyfe, and in the meane season that we, not ouercome by any tentations, fantasies, dreames, or illusions, may fully set our mindes vpon thee, loue thee, feare thee, and rest in thee: furthermore, that our sleape be not excessiue or ouermuche after the insaciab<sup>2</sup>le desires of our fleshe: but onely sufficiēt to content our weake nature, that we may be better disposed to lyue in all godly conuersation, to the glory of thy holy name, and profett of our brethren. So be it.

A PRAYER MADE at the first assemble of the congregation, when the confessiō of our faithe, and the whole orders of the church was there red, and ap-  
proued.

O LORD God almightie, and father moste mercifull, there is none lyke thee in heauen nor in earthe: which workest all thinges for the glorie of thy name and the comfort of thyne elect. Thou dydst once make man ruler ouer all thy creatures, and placed hym in the garden of all pleasures: but how sone(alas) dyd he in his felicitie forget thy goodnes? Thy people Israell also in their wealth dyd euermore runne astray, abusing thy manifold mercies: lyke as all fleshe continually rageth, when it hath gotten libertie, and externall prosperitie. ~~AND~~ But such is thy wisdom adioyned to thy mercies (deare father) that thou sekest all meanes possible, to brynge thy childrene to the sure sens, and lyuely feelinge, of thy fatherly fauor. And therefore when prosperitie wyll not serue, then sendest thou aduersitie, graciously correctinge all thy chyldren whome thou receyuest into thy howshold. Wherefore we wretched and miserable synners render vnto thee most humble and hartie thanks, that yt hath pleased thee to call vs home to thy folde by thy fatherly correction at this present, wheras in our prosperitie and libertie we dyd

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1. I.e. "to work". This sentence bears a resemblance to Calvin (independent of Huyeke), who has in his Evening prayer this: "Seigneur Dieu, puis qu'il t'a plu creer la nuit pour le repos de l'homme, comme tu luy as ordonne le iour pour travailler: ~~xxx~~ vueilles moy faire la grace de tellement reposer ceste nuit selon le corps, que mon ame veille tousiours a toy...."

2. Here again is a resemblance to Calvin: "Davantage, que mon dormir ne soit point excessif, pour complaire eultre mesure à l'aise de ma chair; mais seulement pour satisfaire à la fragilité de ma nature afin de me disposer à ton service,.... et... à ce que mon dormire mesme soit à la gloire de ton Nom."

3. 1 Ki.viii.23. 4. Gen.i.28; 11.15. 5. Gen.iii. 6. Exod.xxiii.5.

7. Ezek. xviii. 30-32. 8. Heb.xii.6; Prov.iv.1 sq.



## PRIVATE PRAYERS

neglect thy graces offred vnto vs. For the which negligence ad many other  
 greuous synnes, wherof we now accuse our selues before thee, thou mightest  
 moste iustely haue gyuen vs vp to reprobate myndes, and induration of our  
 hartes,<sup>1.</sup> as thou haste done others. But suche is thy goodness (o lord)  
 that thou seemest to forget all our offences,<sup>2.</sup> and haste called vs of thy  
 good pleasure frome all Idolatries, into this Citie moste christianlye  
 reformed, to professe thy name, and to suffer some crosse amongst thy  
 people for thy trewth ad gospells sake:<sup>3.</sup> and so to be thy wytnesses with  
 thy prophets and Apostles,<sup>4.</sup> yea with thy dearely beloued sonne Iesus  
 Christ our head, ~~to~~ to whome thou dost begynne here to fashion vs lyke,  
 that in his glorie we may also be lyke hym when he shall appeare.<sup>5.</sup> O  
 lord God what are we vpon whome thou shuldest shewe this great mercye.<sup>6.</sup>  
 O moste louynge lord, forgyue vs our vnthankfulness, and all our synnes  
 for Iesus Christs sake. O heavenly father increase thy holie spirite  
 in vs, to teache our hartes to crye Abba deare father,<sup>7.</sup> to assure vs of  
 our eternal election in Christ, to reuele thy wyll more and more towards  
 vs, to confirme vs so in thy trewth, that we may lyue and dye therein:  
 and that by the power of the same spirite, we may boldly gyue an accompts\*  
 of our faith to all men with humbleness and mekenes, that where as they  
 backbite and slaunder vs as euill doers, they may be ashamed and once  
 stopp their mouthes, seinge our good conuersation in Christ Iesu,<sup>8.</sup> for  
 whose sake we beseeche the (o lord God) to guyde, gouerne, and prosper  
 this our enterprise in assemblinge our bretherne to prayse thy holie  
 name. And not onely to be here present with vs thy childrene according  
 to thy promysse:<sup>9.</sup> but also mercifullie to assist thy like persecuted  
 people, our bretherne, gathered in all other places, that they and we,  
 consentinge together in one spirite and truethe<sup>10.</sup> may (all worldly re-  
 spectes set a part) seke thy onely honor, and glorie, in all our, and  
 their assemblies.<sup>11.</sup> So be it.

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\*Misprint for "acompte"(account)

1. Rom.i.28.      2. Isa.xlix.13.      3. Matt.v.11-12.

4. Luke xxiv.27; Acts i.8.      5. 1 John iii.2.      6. Psa. viii.4.

7. Gal.iv.6.      8. 1 Pet.iii.16.      9. Matt.xviii.20.      10. Rom.xv.8.

11. This prayer seems to be entirely an independent compilation, possibly  
 of the first Minister when the church was opened in Geneva, and having  
 been used that day, was preserved for sentimental (and perhaps anniversary)  
 purposes in the book which was being prepared. It has no connection, as  
 far as one is able to determine, with other prayers of the period.

LAST PAGE OF THE ENGLISH MS.

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1 C o r. 3.

No man can laye any other foundation  
then that which is layed, euen Iesus  
Christe.

{DEVICE: The same as on  
the title-page of the  
Psalms and Catechism)

Imprinted at Geneva by Iohn Crespin.  
Anno. D. M.D.LVI. the tenth of  
february.

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T H E E N D.